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# **Near East/North Africa Report**

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**Egypt: Opposition Press Coverage**

**13 May-July 1980**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2191

## EGYPT: OPPOSITION PRESS COVERAGE

13 MAY-JULY 1980

AL-SHA'B, Weekly Publication of Socialist Workers Party

AL-AHRAR, Weekly Publication of Socialist Liberals Party

AL-DA'WAH, Monthly Publication of the Muslim Brotherhood

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MINISTER OF INFORMATION ATTENDS AL-SHA'B ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 13 May 80 pp 8-9

[Article: "Celebrating the First Anniversary of AL-SHA'B"]

[Text] The Socialist Labor Party (SLP) hosted a ceremony at the Engineers Union building Tuesday evening to celebrate the first anniversary of SLP's organ, AL-SHA'B.

The ceremony was attended by engineer Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the SLP; Mansur Hasan, minister of state for culture and information and assistant secretary general of the Democratic National Party; Kamil Zuhayri, dean of journalists; and representatives of other parties, journalists, members of the diplomatic corps and members and friends of the SLP.

Journal of the Free and Honest Word

At the outset of the ceremony, Hamid Zaydan, editor of AL-SHA'B and member of the SLP executive committee, delivered a speech in which he welcomed the assembled crowd and noted that AL-SHA'B, from the very first day of its publication, has always sought to make its voice heard without equivocation; to be true to its message of speaking freely, honestly and objectively; and to be faithful to its commitment to the principles and aspirations of the Egyptian people and the Arab nation. Hamid Zaydan affirmed that he will continue to abide by the rules of objectivity and responsibility as long as he is the editor of AL-SHA'B.

Ibrahim Shukri, the Living Martyr

Zaydan hailed engineer Ibrahim Shukri and described him as the living martyr who was picked by destiny to be the conscience of free opinion in Egypt and the Arab nation. He also described him as a patriot who has never abdicated his national responsibilities at any time of his life, and who is now as giving to the homeland as he has always been.

Zaydan then reviewed the national history and the struggle of the Young Egypt movement, and said that the SLP roots go back to that movement which gave Egypt scores of intellectuals who enriched the Egyptian struggle, including such persons as Ahmad Husayn, Fathi Radwan, Mustafa al-Wakil and Ibrahim Tal'at.

## The Party of All Honest Men

The editor of AL-SHA'B emphasized that the SLP opens its arms to all the honest strugglers and believes that it is the locus of all honest groups of the Egyptian people. We even welcome those who left us on a given day, he said, because the SLP struggles every day to embrace all struggling and honest men, and believes that it is the party of anyone who has an objective statement to make either via the party or its newspaper.

At the end of his speech, Hamid Zaydan pointed out that AL-SHA'B worked hard throughout the past year in order to carry the word of the party and other opinions to the masses of the Egyptian people. Despite its limited resources, he said, it has managed to express the party's thought. He added: I promise you once again to be true to the honest and free word.

## AL-SHA'B's Age Is Figured by the Number of Its Battles

Kamil Zuhayri, president of the Press Syndicate, also spoke at the ceremony. He lauded AL-SHA'B and said that the age of this newspaper is not measured in years but by the number of battles that it has waged. For the newspaper has repelled the assaults of the Nile, discussed the Law of Impropriety and defended the freedom of the press and the journalists. Its pages were positions, he said, its lines the pulse of the Egyptian people.

## Courageous Press

Zuhayri said: "I welcome you on this great occasion. For a whole year now, Egyptian journalists were busy searching for a definition of the press and debating the various press bills and the various definitions of the press--wondering if the press is a popular mandate or authority or a heavy or light industry, or if it is perhaps a precision industry. He went on to say: But after having read everything, I still believe that the press is courage, that the mission of the press is to present correct views and true news to the reader. The first loyalty of the press should be to the reader because he has the first right to know the truth. The press cannot reach the readers unless journalists have moral courage."

From that perspective, Kamil Zuhayri went on, I salute AL-SHA'B for its moral courage. I am aware of the effort that a national, responsible journalist requires to put out a newspaper such as AL-SHA'B so that it may give expression to the other view courageously and responsibly.

The dean of journalists saluted engineer Ibrahim Shukri and said: I do not salute him because of what he writes only, but also because of his position in 1951 when he submitted a draft legislation opposing another draft legislation which would have restricted the press. He added that were it not for the motion of struggler Ibrahim Shukri and a motion submitted by the late 'Aziz Fahmi, the designs which were being connected against the press would not have collapsed.

Zuhayri also lauded all the members of the editorial staff of AL-SHA'B and said: I look forward to a day when there will be tens of papers like AL-SHA'B, all representing the other view.

#### AL-SHA'B Throbs with Thought and Opinion

Kamil Zuhayri was followed by Mansur Hasan who expressed his delight to participate in the ceremony and said: We are not celebrating AL-SHA'B from a professional point of view only, but we are also celebrating a free newspaper which pulsates with thought and opinion. And this is what we hope for the press in Egypt. He added that the press has begun to perceive its real position and prestige. This is what we mean when we call the press a popular authority which we hope to see occupy a proper place. He pointed out that this is the goal of the committee for press codification.

He added: I attend this ceremony as a representative of the National Democratic Party because no matter how much our political stances and trends differ, we differ, as we coordinate, for the sake of Egypt. Egypt is the more eternal.

Mansur Hasan praised AL-SHA'B saying that it has represented a positive pulse, defended freedom and the honest word and has taken the initiative in giving expression to the other view. These are all qualities which we all hope for our party and national papers.

He emphasized that the real value of the other view springs from correcting a wrong view and underscoring a correct view, and said: In that sense, I appreciate the vigilance of AL-SHA'B.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the SLP, then spoke. He greeted all those present and asserted that AL-SHA'B would not have achieved any success had it not been for the integrity and honesty of many honest writers who want to give true expression to the other view. He noted that many of those writers volunteer their contributions for free so that AL-SHA'B may be the journal of free opinion for all Egyptians. I have always tried to be candid in my writings, he said, and to get to the point as briefly as possible.

Ibrahim Shukri said: I welcome Mansur Hasan, not because he is a minister. Ministerial portfolios come and go, but human relationships prevail. I am also delighted to see among the guests colleagues from the other parties and other brethren who had played a role in Egypt's political life. This means that AL-SHA'B does not only gather writers, but also men of different views who are all ultimately working for the good of Egypt.

Shukri pointed out that this makes him look forward to a broader goal—to a time when the SLP and AL-SHA'B can play a wider role on the pan-Arab level which does not please anyone nowadays. He said: We will try to bring views closer and offer ideas on how to remedy what has happened among us and on the need to exert more efforts to cure the malady that plagues inter-Arab relations.

STUDENT HOUSE FINANCIAL FRAUD EXPOSED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 13 May 80 p 9

[Article: "Financial Malfeasance in the Student Housing Project at the University of 'Ayn Shams"]

[Text] AL-SHA'B has obtained two extremely important documents which unmask serious fraud in handling funds earmarked for the student housing project in the student city at 'Ayn Shams University.

The first evidence is a bill of payment in the amount of 143,000 pounds recommended for disbursement by the adviser to the president of the university. He is the engineer who designed the project and who collects a fee amounting to 5 percent of every bill of payment. Since the bill includes costs of cement, iron and other construction material which were reportedly used in building the student housing project, the university's director general of engineering affairs had to review the bill.

We found the following comments made on the document [by the director general of engineering affairs]:

One--During my inspection of the construction, I noticed that the porches were built of reinforced concrete at higher cost--a violation of the specifications. The porches could have been built of bricks, as usual.

Two--The prices of the reinforced concrete were exaggerated.

Three--There are no steel pipes at the construction site. All that is there are cast iron pipes which do not conform to the specifications.

Four--The quantity of concrete used in stairways should be revised.

The second document is another bill of payment signed by the same advisor on 31 December 1978 for the amount of 261,000 pounds. Comments by the university's director of engineering affairs have also been added to the document. They are:

One--In the course of inspection, I found that the reinforced concrete had not been used in previous university projects. This would quadruple costs



and increase the burdens on the university. Brick could have been used instead.

Two--The bill says that drilling was made under the (water table). There is, however, no water table in this area.

Three--Sand filling operations used sand dug up on site. This means that the sum of 2,400 pounds cited by the builder as the cost of sand trucked in from outside for filling purposes is untrue and has not been disbursed.

Four--The water pipes which have been removed with all their supplements, according to the bill, should be handed over. The bill says that 200 meters of underground pipes have been dug out at a cost of 200 pounds. These pipes have not been delivered to the engineering administration and their value has not been deducted from the total value of the bill.

Because we found a lot of deletions in the quantities and costs of materials as originally entered in the bill, we talked about them to engineer Banub Sam'an, who had some comments and observations. He said: "The deletions in the quantities and costs were made with the knowledge of the person who approved the payment of the bill. The deletions were made when he learned of the comments I wrote on the bill. For example, I wrote that the quantity of the reinforced concrete used in the stairways was greater by one for every 100 meters--and later by one for every 50 meters--than it was in the previous bill. This adds up to a cost differential of up to 55,000 pounds which would be wasted and which would be paid out of the project appropriations for nothing in return."

There was also a comment to the effect that the quantity of concrete used for the roof of the project was adjusted upward in the bill so that it came to 96 cubic meters more than the figure cited in the previous bill. This means an additional cost of 10,000 pounds.

AL-SHA'B presents this case to all officials who are protective of the people's money, so that public funds may not go to brokers whose coffers would then bulge with money stolen from the people.

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## GOVERNMENT SCORED ON CAMPAIGN AGAINST JUDICIARY, PRESS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 May 80 pp 7, 15

[Article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Are We Headed For a Massacre Against Judges and Journalists?"]

[Text] President Anwar al-Sadat has twice lashed out fiercely at members of the judiciary who expressed disapproval of the Law on Morality. The first time was on 14 May, when he was delivering a speech to the People's Assembly in his capacity as president. In the speech, he regarded his action as a political one. The second time was on 19 May. On this occasion, in his capacity as the head of the new government, he issued instructions to the ministers and governors at the first meeting of the new cabinet, and asked the minister of justice to deal with the situation by setting up a committee on values from within the judiciary.

At the same meeting, he called on the minister of state for information and culture to prepare the new press law on the basis of the pertinent constitutional amendment, so that the bill may be presented to the People's Assembly before its summer vacation. The bill would turn the Higher Council for the Press into a custodian over the press. The president also asked the minister to attach to the bill another bill which would require the re-registration of journalists.

These two directives brought back to mind the massacre of judges which took place in September 1969 and other incidents in which some journalists were reassigned to positions in fish and shoe companies.

People are now asking: Are we headed for a new massacre involving judges and journalists by orders of the highest authority in the state, in a regime which raises the slogan of democracy and the sovereignty of law?

## Judges Entitled to Views on Morality Law

It is truly ironical that some members of the judiciary are being accused of carrying out political activities when all that they have done was to exercise a right. Indeed, they exercised a duty provided for in Article 173 of the present constitution which requires the government to sound out the Higher Council of Judicial Bodies on any bill dealing with judicial affairs.

The Law on Morality provides for the establishment of new courts to be called Courts of Values which, in addition to judges, would include public personalities for the first time in the history of the Egyptian judicial system. The law also concerns itself with the jurisdiction of the Socialist Public Prosecutor which is related to the jurisdiction of the office of the Attorney General. Constitutionally, this requires the government to seek the views of the Higher Council of Judicial Bodies. Indeed, the minister of justice made a statement to this effect at a press conference, and a similar reference is included in the preface of the law entitled "The Law of Protecting Values from Impropiety."

It goes without saying that the members of the higher judicial council feel that when they speak out they do not simply express personal views but represent the views of the judicial groups for which they act. The president of the Court of Cassation cannot express an opinion on a serious bill which involves functions and jurisdiction of the judiciary, such as the Law on Morality, until he has referred the matter first to the general assembly of the Court of Cassation. By the same token, the head of the state council has no right to express an individual opinion on such an important matter, except after hearing the opinions of his colleagues, the members of the council. Consequently, judges are entitled in general to discuss among themselves the various aspects of a bill which concerns itself with the judicial system and involves their work, life and careers. Such discussion cannot be construed as political action.

#### Why Is It That Judges Are Permitted to Praise Political Decisions?

Why is it that the action of judges in expressing opinions on bills related to the judiciary—action which is constitutionally permissible—is found to be improper simply because it is not in accord with the desire of the government and the ruling party? Also, why is it that the authorities have been blessing favorable opinions which praise political decisions? Can we deduce from this that what the government wants is to receive constant approval of its actions and to blot out any views which disagree with the positions of the ruling authority?

When the decision to abolish the state of emergency (the martial law) was taken, so-called nationalist newspapers published the views of some members of the judiciary in which they expressed satisfaction with the decision to abolish martial law and return to normal life where the provisions of the public law and the constitution prevail. In fact, on 23 May, some of those papers published the text of a cable sent by the president of the Judges Club to President Anwar al-Sadat, who is the leader of one of the political parties and the head of the present government, greeting him on the occasion of the May revolution anniversary and thanking him for putting an end to the state of emergency. Does the president consider the cable a judicial act or a political one?

What if a member of the judiciary expressed a different opinion on the abolition of the martial law? What if he said, for example, that the codification of many extraordinary powers established under the emergency law into permanent laws, such as the Law on Morality, which permits the arrest or confinement of citizens and the impounding of their properties and assets, and the Law on State Security Courts, which permits military magistrates, who can be discharged and who are not independent of their executive office, to sit alongside civil judges, are measures which strip the decision abolishing martial law of a great deal of its significance with regard to promoting freedom, judicial safeguards and normal legal procedures to which the people have been aspiring? Would a judge who says such things be in the same category as judges who express complete satisfaction with the abolition decision?

#### Minister Abu Sihli Responsible for the Misunderstanding

In my view, the minister of justice, Amwar Abu Sihli, is the cause of the misunderstanding of the facts. He considered that those who have expressed a different opinion on the Law on Morality have defied his authority as the political minister who is responsible for the passage of the law. He therefore fought that group of judges in the by-elections which were held to re-elect those whose membership had lapsed. He fought them in different ways. In his meetings with members of the judiciary and visits to courts before the elections, he would announce that the success of certain candidates would anger the ruling party and thereby prevent him from meeting the demands and needs of the judiciary. In the leaflet or statement which was mentioned by President al-Sadat before the People's Assembly, members of a group cited the minister's attitude toward them, although they did not refer to him by name. Actually, no one from this or any other group is either with or against the ruling party. They are all neutral judges detached from politics and political ends.

We hope that history will not repeat itself, that minister Abu Sihli will not cause another judges massacre similar to the massacre caused by minister Abu Nusayr, God forgive him, in 1969 under the pretext that he was carrying out a reform movement and a purge in the ranks of the judiciary.

I do not want to talk in detail about the methods which are being used by minister Abu Sihli, the minister of justice, in this particular period—methods which lend themselves to misunderstanding and which are in fact unacceptable in view of the prestige and sanctity of the judiciary. I refrain from doing so in deference to and out of respect for the members of the judiciary. I am confident that all those methods will in no way affect the independence and neutrality of the judiciary.

I will confine myself, however, to a report by AL-AKHBAR on 23 May, 1980, about a meeting between the minister of justice and members of the judiciary in the Judges Club in the presence of engineer 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, the dean of engineers, to discuss housing problems involving judges. At the meeting, the minister announced that he is considering a plan to extend the

service age for judges to 65 years, but that the extension will only be applicable to judges with high qualifications. This condition and stipulation are rejected, because they imply an attempt to influence the judiciary through the option of extending or not extending the age ceiling. This is unacceptable in the case of those judges who are 60 and have reached the top of their careers. In fact, this option of extending the service age to 65 is non-existent in the case of university professors.

#### Inadmissibility of Consultative Council's Tutelage Over Press

Turning to the press and members of the press, the old image of the Socialist Union's ownership of press establishments seems to hold sway. In his instructions to the minister of information and culture, Mansur Hasan, President al-Sadat said that the owner of the press in Egypt is the Consultative Council (Shura Council) in its capacity as the council of the family, in accordance with the latest constitutional amendment, and that the Higher Press Council represents the press. The president also suggested that the press syndicate be converted into a club like the judges club.

The Consultative Council cannot constitutionally or legally own the press in Egypt. The constitutional amendment which has been put to a plebiscite recently provides that the ownership and funding of the press should be subject to the people's supervision. It did not say, as it was said in the previous plebiscite, that it should be owned by the Consultative Council or by the people. It also said that its ownership by public and private legal persons and by political parties is guaranteed under the law (Article 209, which is added to the constitution).

Even if we are to assume that the so-called nationalist press is owned by the people, the Consultative Council is not the people's representative. One third of the members of this council are appointed by the president in his capacity as the chief of the executive branch. The council, furthermore, is of a purely consultative nature and has no binding powers (Articles 194, 195 and 196, added to the constitution).

In the book by the able legal scholar Mustafa Mar'i, which was published this week under the title of **THE PRESS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND RULER**, the author notes that Article 29 of the constitution recognizes only three kinds of ownership: public ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership. Since the papers known as nationalist papers are not privately or cooperatively owned, they should become public property. The government is the highest executive and administrative authority in the state, and not the Consultative Council. Therefore, the government alone is responsible for managing and protecting the public wealth (pages 84 and 85 of the book). Is the intention then to turn those papers officially into government papers? Is it not better to turn these papers into companies where citizens would be able to buy shares, provided that first priority be given to those working in these papers and that any one holder cannot own more than a certain number of shares so that the company would be truly owned by the people?



## Journalists Right to a Syndicate

The journalists' right to the continued existence of their syndicate is one guaranteed by the present constitution—Article 56—and it is inadmissible for the law to interfere to arrogate that right. It can, however, intervene to safeguard it, as clearly mentioned in paragraph one of that article.

There are no grounds of similarity between the members of the press and the judges. The members of the press are members of a free profession, the same as doctors and lawyers, and not public servants of the state, as judges are.

The judges are members of the judicial branch which, like the legislative and executive branches, constitutes one of the three authorities of the state. The "press authority or estate," which is cited in the constitutional amendment, is not a state authority but an "independent, popular authority" (Article 206, added to the constitution). That is to say, it is an authority in the figurative sense only, since it has no jurisdiction or power to make binding decisions. It is likened to a state authority because of its profound influence on the public opinion, as was explained in the report of the committee set up by the People's Assembly to look into the constitutional amendment.

Since the latest constitutional amendment, under the heading of "The Press Authority," provided for the freedom of the press in more than one instance, control of the journalists by anyone outside their own ranks can be construed as an act of subjugation to the ruler—in other words, as restrictions on the freedom of the press.

## Re-Registering Journalists A Wasting of Acquired Rights

Re-registering members of the press is tantamount to an inadmissible act of frightening journalists. The legal course of bringing to account those of them who have overstepped the bounds of permissible criticism is to take them to a criminal court, if the violation constitutes a criminal offense, or to a disciplinary court, if the charge against them is violation of the profession's code of ethics.

Re-registration is similar to the act, undertaken during the judges massacre, of re-organizing the judicial bodies as a means of eliminating certain judges from the judiciary. The Court of Cassation has condemned that action and regarded it as a blatant aggression against law and the constitution. Furthermore, re-registration would subject certain journalists to the prospect of being deprived of their profession, which is the source of their livelihood, and would clear the way for partisan retaliation and political tyranny.

The plea of bringing to account journalists who have overstepped their bounds abroad cannot be used as a pretext to impose this shattering measure. Failure to re-register these journalists will not affect their positions abroad. Indeed, non-registration would drive those journalists to intensify their attacks on the policies of the regime and would drive the host governments

to take greater care of them. Furthermore, this would give those states a new cause and added material for attacking and deriding the Egyptian government.

What I fear most is that the declared intention of penalizing journalists working abroad would be a mere facade for denying registration to those journalists at home who do not enjoy the approval of the regime and the ruling party.

Such a precedent would be extremely serious, for it can be applied to members of other professions as well. And if we are to assume the worst, how can we be sure that a day will not come when opportunists, climbers and self-serving toadies will advocate that education certificates and degrees should be re-considered so that the non-loyalists can be deprived of their degrees and qualifications?

The ease of issuing legislation because of the sweeping pro-government majority in the People's Assembly cannot be used as a justification for the adoption of a legislative measure without first pondering its consequences and repercussions.

It is our hope, finally, that the remarks made by President al-Sadat about judges and journalists were no more than views which can be debated at the level of the cabinet and not orders to be carried out. It is our hope too that cabinet ministers should participate in drawing up the important policies of the state. Every citizen should fear God in discharging his duties, for the Day of Reckoning will inevitably come.

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CSO: 4802



## FORMER WAR MINISTER DEFENDS SELF AGAINST SADAT

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 May 80 p 9

[Article: "Lt Gen Sadiq Defends Himself and Declares: Defense Line Was Ready Since 1969"]

[Text] In a special interview with AL-SHA'B, Lt Gen Muhammad Ahmad Sadiq, the former War Minister, responded to President Anwar al-Sadat's speech of 14 May before the People's Assembly in which the president accused him of treason. The treason charge stemmed from the president's belief that "the Israeli ground barrier east of the Suez Canal was higher than the Egyptian barrier west of the Canal. This made the Egyptian military positions exposed and weakened our defense capabilities."

## There Was No Danger

Lt Gen Sadiq categorically denied the charge. To prove his argument, he emphasized that the Egyptian defense line was ready and completed since 1969. The Egyptian armed forces, he added, were highly trained in carrying out their duty and the line was in no danger. It had been erected after a thorough study of all eventualities and contingencies and on scientific bases, and was the result of the efforts of efficient officers. Our defense was active so that during the defensive period, our forces carried out more than 100 crossing operations into enemy territory to reconnoiter the enemy's defense lines. All the crossing operations were successful and provided the information on which the attack and crossing plan was based.

## The Story of the Ground Barrier

Lt Gen Sadiq then recounted the story of the ground barrier. He said: The Egyptian command decided to erect a ground screen west of the Canal because the eastern bank of the Canal was higher than the western, thereby enabling the enemy to watch our movements on the west bank. The general command of the military units stationed in the area was therefore commissioned to set up the screen so that the frontline soldiers may be able to carry out their chores and duties without interference by enemy snipers and to prevent the enemy from watching our positions and movements easily. The enemy resorted to the same tactic. Any commander realizes that the screen does not seriously hinder the other side from reconnaissance and exploration. For there

are mobile towers, binoculars, balloons, aerial reconnaissance and various kinds of electronic reconnaissance, and all these have been successfully used.

#### No One Was Remiss

The former war minister affirmed that no one was remiss in protecting our movements and positions west of the Canal from enemy reconnaissance. If anything of the sort had happened it would have been the responsibility of the local commander or the immediate commander, but there was no evidence that any such commander had been remiss. They had the means to enable them to continue to add more soil to raise the ground screen in any area in which the enemy's ground screen was higher.

#### We Were Preparing for the Attack

In his speech, President al-Sadat said that he had given the sum of 20 million pounds to the war minister who succeeded Lt Gen Sadiq to use them in raising the Egyptian ground barrier. Responding to this, Lt Gen Sadiq said: The president and the commanders who were members of the higher council of the armed forces know that it was I who had asked for that sum of money. But I wanted it to use it to equip the positions from which the attack would begin. The Egyptian armed forces at the time were preparing themselves for the attack, in terms of planning, training and preparing the theater of operations. Equipping the positions from which the attack would begin was part of the plan to prepare the theater of operations. Since we were preparing for the attack, it follows that we had already completed our defense and defensive arrangements a long time before that. If Israel felt for a moment that it would have been able to penetrate our defenses, it would not have hesitated to do so.

#### Those Who Misinformed the President

Lt Gen Sadiq said that those who told President al-Sadat that an enemy ground barrier that is higher than ours would mean the collapse of our defense lines, which scared and worried the president and deprived him of sleep for a long time until the new minister informed him that the Egyptian barrier has been raised, have not been honest with the president and have misinformed him. Lt Gen Sadiq explained his view as follows: Those persons should have told the president that defense lines depend on well-equipped and fortified defense positions. They may depend on water or artificial obstructions or both. Furthermore, they depend on a computation of the quantity of ammunition per square meter, either in terms of small weapons, mortars, various kinds of artillery, missiles and aircraft missiles which the forces can muster and use to protect these positions from penetration. Behind these positions lie other positions to deter penetration. The forces operating through those positions are called anti-penetration forces. Then there are the positions of the mobile counter-offensive forces of all levels. After all that, there are the general reserve forces whose task it is to plug any loophole or gap which may develop.

## No Justification

What I have already recounted means that there was no reason for President al-Sadat's concern and worry about our defense lines. The president, he said, can ask any of the present military commanders--whose combat efficiency, knowledge and patriotism I fully trust. They were all commanders who had assumed big responsibilities during that period and were fully aware of what was going on at the time.

Lt Gen Muhammad Sadiq had a few remarks to address to President al-Sadat. He said: His excellency is a man who strictly adheres to the morals and values of the villager and who has propounded the law of protecting values from impropriety. In view of this, I had not expected him to say that he has fired a minister. Can a president who espouses all such values and morals speak of a minister in this manner? The minister is a colleague who shares in bearing the responsibility of national action. Whether he succeeded in his mission or not and whether the president or any other political powers approved of him or not, he has every right as a citizen to be addressed in a manner that would not injure his dignity and pride.

Lt Gen Sadiq had more to say to President al-Sadat: The occasion which the president has chosen to accuse him of treason and to reproach him severely, despite the silence and isolation which he [Sadiq] has voluntarily imposed on himself since he was relieved of his duties, was the anniversary of the corrective revolution. President al-Sadat and our good and honorable people remember that during that extremely critical period of our history, God inspired me to stand by the president and to settle the dispute in favor of the president. The president has not used the term "treason" to describe the actions of the centers of power which had plotted against him, although he was making his speech on the 9th anniversary of the defeat of their plots against his regime. The president has not also leveled the charge of treason against any of the ministers who were tried and convicted in cases involving dishonorable actions. Why then am I singled out and accused of treason despite all that I have done for Egypt? Praise be to God for thanks to Him I have always chosen to take the side of right and truth.

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CSO: 4802

## SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 May 80 p 13

[Article by Engineer Muhammad Hasan Durrah: "A Study on the Housing Problem; Contradictory Housing Policies Do Not Serve the Cause"]

[Text] In a previous edition, we explained the dimensions of the housing problem as delineated by studies undertaken by the National Housing Committee (NHC), which has been set up for this purpose, and the NHC's own ideas on a solution of the problem. We also reported that after the cabinet's adoption of the plan on 13 April, we were surprised to see that the plan proposed by the National Party has resurfaced with a conception that is totally at variance with the studies conducted by the NHC for the solution of the problem. We have showed that the National Party's housing committee should have presented its own plan to the NHC when it was in session, since the NHC was specifically commissioned by the National Party leadership to prepare a national plan for housing that does not change with the change of cabinets.

In the policy statement delivered by the prime minister of the previous cabinet, Dr Mustafa Khalil, before the People's Assembly on 13 December 1979, he said—and the housing minister later confirmed—that negotiations were going on with a number of European firms to build 100,000 housing units, in addition to the units provided for in the annual national plan, in order to bring up the number of housing units per year to 200,000.

In the preceding article, we warned that any new recommendations which are not in keeping with the reports submitted by the NHC will have adverse effects which would impede the housing plans prescribed in the plan, for several reasons. Here they are:

1. When the NHC formulated its report, it took into consideration all available capabilities in Egypt. Next to financing, the most important capabilities that had to be considered were mapping and preparing lands that are suitable for building and providing them with various utilities and amenities, labor and construction material and equipment, skilled labor and experienced technical and specialized talent. It believe that, given the present condition of those capabilities, we cannot build the originally planned 100,000 units, unless we replenish and reinforce these capabilities,

stop emigration, work at full capacity day and night or use advanced factories and factories producing prefabricated materials. These factories, however, are operating now within 5 percent of their capacity.

2. With regard to lands suitable and ready for building, I would like to point out that there is a shortage of land suitable for building and equipped with the necessary utilities. This shortage constitutes a major obstacle in the way of solving the housing problem. If within a year or two we can provide some lands suitable for building according to the scheduled plan or part of it, it would still be very difficult to equip lands that can absorb additional housing units without first planning the new townships and suburbs, providing them with utilities and re-designing the utilities networks of present cities and towns to cope with the large increase in urban development. All this requires intensive efforts in terms of financing, manpower construction materials and time. We will return to the subject of building lands to discuss it in greater detail later on.

3. With regard to construction materials and labor, it may be said that the European companies with which negotiations were taking place will supply the necessary iron and cement and would use advanced factories to cut down on the need for labor, but does that mean that these companies will supply the necessary professional and technical skilled workers and experts? And if the answer is yes, how much would such imported labor cost? No doubt, it will cost very dearly and will have a clear effect on the wages of local labor, which are already high and seek any opportunity to get even higher. It is well-known that Egypt is presently facing a severe shortage--indeed, a scarcity--in technical labor, especially in the building and construction profession, and the necessary technical expertise required to operate the machinery and equipment. This has been a major cause of the delay and retardation in the implementation of the construction and development plan which in turn caused a large and growing increase in wages, by dint of the law of supply and demand. This became quite obvious when work began in rebuilding the cities and towns along the Suez Canal at the beginning of 1974. Wages continued to increase until they amounted to 8 times or more what they used to be in the year before. With the scarcity of skilled and professional labor and the inability of the present manpower to implement the plan or a part of it, it is regrettable that the emigration of professional workers to various Arab countries continues in full swing without control or rationalization.

4. It thus becomes clear that if foreign companies were engaged to build 100,000 housing units above and beyond the units provided for in the original plan, the cost will be too high in view of the high cost of imported construction materials and ancillary local products, in addition to the high level of wages and the lack of adequate labor, which will have a bad--indeed, serious--effect on the implementation of the original construction plan set forth by the state. The inevitable result will be an inflation of wages and prices on the level of the state.



Actually, we are in dire need for those foreign companies, but only in the field of building new townships and only through the grant of concessions by the state to those companies. We will discuss this subject in detail when we examine the question of building lands and new townships. The truth of the matter is that all opinions and ideas are welcome and deserve praise. If they can be implemented, they would decisively help solve the problem, but ideas are something and the application of these ideas is something else.

The problem has been going on for 25 years. It has never abated during that period. On the contrary, it deteriorated year after year. The population flood continued to grow until it reached 1.2 million persons a year at the present rate. The solution is no longer a simple one, nor can it be obtained by statements, reports or special ideas. The experience of the past years is a lesson for us. Let me cite some examples drawn from operations which are being implemented or which we are promised will be implemented.

In 1976, a company was assigned to produce 5,500 housing units in the Nasr city. Not a single unit has been delivered to date. In 1977, the Nasr city company announced plans to establish 4,500 housing units. A foreign company was contracted to undertake the project and the Nasr city company announced that the apartments will be ready for delivery toward the end of 1978. 1978 and 1979 have already passed and nothing has been implemented. In fact, the foreign company has ceased operations. In the past two years or more, the foreign company only managed to set up the concrete framework of 300 units out of the total of 4,500 units. As a result, the Ministry of Housing was forced to withdraw the concession from that company and to invite new bids after the loss of three years of almost total waste. Moreover, since 1976, various housing ministers have announced plans for the construction of tens of thousands of housing units annually. In fact, 9 firms which own factories producing prefabricated building materials were asked to build 10,000 units each over a period of 10 years, that is 2,000 units annually which the capacity of each plant, on the assumption that work would start at the beginning of 1979. Years have passed, however, and nothing has happened. The production of the aforementioned plants thus far has not exceeded 5 percent of their capacities. Actually, most of those plants have not even begun producing. These are some of many examples. This does not mean, however, that there are not successful companies which have completed their commitments.

#### The Remedy We Propose

The problem is urgent and persistent. If we are really serious in our efforts to solve it within a plan that would produce safe results, we should then proceed along the path charted by the report of the NHC and consider the problem of housing and housing utilities as the problem of all Egypt. Furthermore, the new government, which has declared that it has come into being for the sake of relieving the suffering of the citizens, should throw its weight and use all its material and manpower potentialities to salvage whatever can be salvaged of the urgent plan which had been designed for



1980, namely, to build 100,000 fully equipped housing units for the first 5-year plan, as the NHC has proposed in its report. While we are aware that it is too late for the 1980 plan to be fully implemented, let us nevertheless rededicate ourselves to the task of completing the 100,000 units in question as of the beginning of the amended fiscal year, which is the beginning of July, God willing, and let us try by all means to have them occupied during the 1980-81 fiscal year. For we must all know that the fulfillment of the 100,000 units was no easy task and that it needs extraordinary and intensive efforts. When the state geared all its material and human energies to undertake the formidable task of rebuilding the Suez Canal cities and towns--and despite the fact that there was adequate financing at the time and that 50 percent of the construction cost was advanced to the pertinent companies ahead of schedule so as to provide them with financial liquidity, a basic factor in the implementation of any project, and that lands and construction materials were also available--the state managed only to establish 34,000 new housing units and their utilities in the years 1974, 1975, 1976 and 1977, that is about four years, in addition to repairing about 40,000 units which were damaged during the enemy shelling of those cities and towns.

Reports citing new amendments by the state also reported that the NDP's housing committee has announced plans for a housing project in the October 6 town through the acquisition of an area of one million square meters which will be divided into economy, medium and superior classes housing 20,000 units. The units would be built without government financing, on the assumption that income from the superior class of houses will offset the cost of economy class housing. I believe that this experiment will be a test for the success of that kind of concept, but such a plan should have no effect on the implementation of the original national plan.

In sum, it is still possible to salvage the situation by creating a powerful revolution in the construction sector and by mobilizing that sector to solve the housing problem by establishing the largest possible number of economy-class housing and some medium-class housing in accordance with the demands of the masses which are reeling under the impact of the housing predicament. The government should commit itself to that kind of housing and should give that plan a priority and cease work on operations that are not considered to be urgent so as to spare financing, labor and construction materials. This would be similar to the 1965 experience when the housing sector was mobilized to meet urgent housing needs and the 1970 experience when the government pushed through plans to build missile bases and offered various facilities to the private sector to tempt and encourage it to participate in the building effort.

Do we have the will and determination to work? And will our capabilities enable us to operate rapidly and complete our task quickly, or will the situation remain the same as it is now? And will the report of the NHC see the light of day or will it meet the same fate of previous reports?

Time alone will tell and provide the answers to these questions. In the meantime, we will have further encounters to discuss some of the present shortages, bottlenecks and negative factors which impede solution, in the hope that our discussions will light the way before the government and the people. May God grant us success and lead us to a path which would serve the well-being of our beloved Egypt.

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## OPPOSITION LEADER CALLS FOR SUSTAINED COOPERATION WITH SUDAN

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by Ibrahim Shukri, Leader of the Socialist Labor Party: "Sudan, the Nile and the Future; Integration Policies Should Be Maintained"]

[Text] I write this after the return of the Socialist Labor Party's (SLP) delegation from a visit to the Sudan on the anniversary of the 25 May revolution. I took part in the celebration of that revolution. Our delegation's visit to Khartoum was a modest attempt on our part to tell our Sudanese brethren that we stand with them at all times and under all conditions.

I say a modest attempt because I believe that there could have been other official and popular delegations representing our national government and the majority party. This would always earn the appreciation of the Sudanese people and government. But I do not wish to get into the details of the circumstances which caused Egypt's popular and governmental representation at that anniversary celebration to be small. Those circumstances, after all, would not benefit the eternal fact which we always seek to underline and in which we always believe—that the peoples of Egypt and the Sudan who live along the banks of the Nile and its tributaries are bound by strong ties throughout history. Transient circumstances might blur the external surface of that fact, but the substance always remains strong, solid and full of hope.

We do not, however, like to surrender to that fact simply because it is a fact which may be invulnerable and immune against any external onslaught. The change of circumstances, an overlapping of interests among nations and great power rivalries and conflicts throughout the world might individually or severally threaten many facts and strongly held beliefs which have remained strong and cohesive for generations but which eroded or were undermined by subversion and ambitions as a result of neglect and the lack of maintenance.

The relationship between the inhabitants of Egypt and the inhabitants of northern Sudan is not only a question of sentiments and familial ties. This is an indisputable fact. I have even heard it told of President Nimeiri

that he once said that of every three marriages in northern Sudan one marriage at least involves an Egyptian spouse or a spouse descended from Egyptian parents. It is no coincidence, too, that since the Egyptian revolution in 1952, two of the three Egyptian presidents--President Muhammad Najib and President Anwar al-Sadat--have Sudanese blood in them.

The question, I say, is not one of sentiments and family interrelationships, for this is not unique to Sudan and Egypt, and many Egyptian families have ties with families in various Arab countries, either to the east in what is known as [greater] Syria, Hijaz and Yemen, or to the west in what used to be known as the greater Maghreb. These ties emerged as a result of economic relations, trade and mutual benefits as well as the fact that all or some of these countries at one time or another in history fell under a single, unified political influence.

In the case of Egypt and the Sudan, it is far more than that. They share the same reason for their neutrality, namely, that they depend on the same river--a great river which supplies its banks and delta with elements that once were the mainstay of the oldest civilization. In the sound and light display in Khartoum, I heard names of old kings of Sudan, such as (Ba'ankhi), the noble king and (Tirhaqa), the mighty king. This has tempted me to visit the national museum in Khartoum which I found to be part of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The old dynasties which reigned in eras preceding the birth of Christ are the same dynasties whose remains are exhibited in the Egyptian Museum. The subsequent Christian and Moslem eras are also displayed in the Coptic Museum and the Islamic Antiquities Museum at Bab al-Khalq in Cairo.

Even in the modern era we both jointly suffered under British colonialism. Colonialism exploited us equally, and there was even a similarity in the outward manifestations of the colonial government. In Khartoum, the white palace of the British governor was situated on a river bank shaded by Bengali (Phicks) trees. In Cairo's Garden City, the High Commissioner ruled from his palace which sat on the river's bank shaded by Bengali (Phicks) trees.

As colonialism turned Egypt into a large farm to supply its factories in Manchester with cotton, the major crop of Egypt, and organized the irrigation system in Egypt to fit this goal, the same thing was repeated in Sudan. Al-Jazirah became the largest cotton plantation in the Sudan and irrigation was organized in such a way as to service that major crop.

The Egyptian people, like the Sudanese people, struggled to get rid of the yoke of British colonialism and ultimately triumphed. Colonialism was purged from the soil of Sudan and the soil of Egypt as well, and we both faced the tough test--the test of development for the well-being of all the people. There was no longer a privileged minority and a vast majority which hardly maintained a subsistence level. Instead, a decent life for all became the aspired goal.

We find the economies of Egypt and Sudan undergoing changes and incorporating various industries which depend on available crops and raw materials. The textile plants and mills of Al-Mahallah al-Kubra and Kafr al-Dawwar for years processed and manufactured Egypt's cotton, while the textile mills of Khartoum Bahri and Port Sudan are manufacturing Sudan's cotton. There are many other factories in Egypt and Sudan dealing with several products from tires to canned foods and food materials.

But the volume or output of those factories is far below the consumption requirements of the people as well as the export requirements of both countries. We already see the early signs of a race in both Egypt and Sudan between raising the standard of living and increasing the people's consumption ability, on the one hand, and the general increase in prices caused by low supply and high demand, on the other. This creates severe hardships for a majority of the people whose incomes cannot keep up with the increase in prices.

I spent a few days in Khartoum with my colleagues as guests of the Sudanese Socialist Union. During those days we attended all the ceremonies commemorating the May revolution. Most of these were ceremonies inaugurating new important projects for economic and social development. This year's celebrations were marked by the presence of Ethiopia's President Mengistu. Indeed, many ceremonies were characterized by manifestations of welcome for the Ethiopian leader and praise for the friendship and spirit of peace which prevail between the Sudanese and Ethiopian peoples. I found this to be a logical state of affairs. Relations between two neighbors sharing long borders and common interests deriving from their dependence on the same river should be based on cooperation and friendship, not estrangement or hostility.

But when I returned to Cairo with my colleague Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi—indeed, even before my return—I heard some remarks about the effect of Sudanese--Ethiopian rapprochement on the Egyptian-Sudanese relations, despite the fact that Egypt issued a statement a few weeks before welcoming the improvement in relations between Sudan and its Ethiopian neighbor. It could be that the memorandum Ethiopia had distributed among African states with regard to Egypt's use of the Nile waters was directly responsible for stirring fears over Egypt's right to the waters of the Nile. It so happened that the Ethiopian memorandum was the first order of business which faced me at the People's Assembly after my return from Khartoum. Prompted by the Ethiopian memo, the Minister of Irrigation delivered a long statement detailing the rules and bases which govern the use of the Nile waters by the nine countries within the Nile basin.

I hasten to say to anyone who feels any sense of fear that the Ethiopian-Sudanese rapprochement is in keeping with the correct line which safeguards our right to the waters of the river. The agreements relating to Ethiopia which were cited by the Minister of Irrigation were agreements which were



signed between Ethiopia and the British government acting on behalf of Sudan. These agreements define the borderline between Ethiopia and Sudan and also define Sudan's rights with regard to the Nile waters. Sudan's interests in the Nile waters are tied in with Egypt's interests, and it is a far-fetched idea, for economic reasons, that Ethiopia would undertake projects on the Nile which would hurt Sudan before hurting Egypt.

It is entirely unlikely that Ethiopia would hold up large amounts of river waters for irrigation projects. The Egyptian agriculture is the least costly agriculture, and irrigation projects are relatively costly because they are unnecessary. This leaves power-generation projects involving the building of bridges and waterfalls. This would affect the supply of waters at certain times and might have some effects on irrigation projects in Sudan.

So we see in the end that the mainstay of life in Egypt and Sudan in particular is organically and strongly interconnected and that our similar problems require greater cooperation and solidarity. This is what is meant by the word "future" in the title. This future which I hope will be full of prosperity in the Nile valley requires integrated development and planning to exploit the vast resources of Sudan and Egypt. Since we have chosen the formula of integration, we should keep going by implementing all the projects that have been studied and initiated or those that are still under consideration. What Egypt and Sudan need is increased production of all kinds of crops and livestock. In that connection, joint coordination and planning to achieve quick results in providing all crops will be very beneficial not only for the future and future projects but also for the immediate present. I have noticed that prices of vegetables, fruits and cereals in Sudan have been rising. The same goes for Egypt.

The situation does not require long years to set things straight. Lands are abundant in Sudan and are not lacking in Egypt, in addition to the fact that water is available whether from seasonal rains in Sudan and southern Sudan [sic] or from permanent projects along the river.

The policies of complementarity and integration should go on because I consider infrastructure projects--primarily roads connecting Sudan and Egypt--to be extremely important for the success of cooperation and integration between Egypt and Sudan. I will not rest until I see a land route that would occasionally run along the river and follow the trail of the old caravans (Darb al-Arba'in), with wells here and there along its course to provide travellers with water, I would like to see that road used by camel caravans and small and big vehicles driving from the south and used by Sudan-bound Egyptians using all kinds of transportation means, including donkeys, and even walking. I would like to see that road begin at a point in southern Sudan, connecting all the central African states surrounding it then heading north to Khartoum and eventually to Cairo and Alexandria, thereby connecting the heart of the African continent to the shores of the Mediterranean, some of which fall in Europe. That project is the one that preeminently deserves



to be implemented and considered by all international and African organizations or by the various banks and funds which are concerned with the development of Africa and the well-being of its peoples--indeed, the well-being of the area surrounding it. Sudan, north and south, with its six provinces (according to the new reorganization plan) and Egypt with its countryside and delta, east and west, can truly be the wheat, vegetable, fruit and flower basket for all the rich countries surrounding us, whether they be the oil-rich countries to the east and the west or the technologically advanced countries of Europe where the level of consumption keeps growing and the patterns of consumption keep getting more diversified day after day.

To those who talk about establishing prosperity in Egypt and Sudan, I say: We have no choice, by God, except to muster our capabilities and mobilize the resources of our countries and cooperate with our Arab brethren. This is the right path which can enable us to weather all storms and greedy ambitions.

On to work. Long live Egypt. Long live the Sudan. God is the greatest and glory be to the Arabs.

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CSO: 4802

## MILITARY ASSOCIATION WITH U.S. OPPOSED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabiri: "Egypt's Economic Security Before American Security"]

[Text] In a statement to the WASHINGTON POST, President Anwar al-Sadat indicated that he was ready to grant the United States defense facilities. Tom Reston, the spokesman for the American State Department, has stated that the American Administration is presently discussing with Egypt issues related to the common security of the two countries. He noted that the discussion is based on the suggestion made by President al-Sadat in his aforementioned statement, namely, the proposition that the United States stockpile advanced weapons in Egypt, including F-15 fighter aircraft, but without the stationing of American forces in Egypt.

The spokesman pointed out that the United States does not plan to manufacture F-15's or any other types of aircraft in Egypt, but that it is seriously studying the question of using those facilities in times of crisis in the Middle East. The spokesman said that the United States has previously used facilities provided by Egypt for the training of AWAC reconnaissance (spying) aircraft. If we add to that earlier reports that Egypt has provided facilities to the United States during the abortive attempt to rescue the American hostages held in the American embassy in Tehran, it becomes clear without doubt that there is some kind of military cooperation between Egypt and the United States. Neither party has denied the existence of that cooperation.

The United States and the Department of Defense have responded quickly to President Anwar al-Sadat's offer to provide defense facilities for the American forces. The official spokesman for the Department of State promptly announced that talks are under way between Egypt and America over President al-Sadat's suggestion. Earlier, however, President al-Sadat had repeatedly asked President Carter for large-scale economic aid to help Egypt overcome its economic problems. Our press talked profusely about a "Carter Plan," which was likened by America to the Marshal Plan, for the rescue of the Egyptian economy, and spoke of billions of American dollars which will be flowing into Egypt. Soon, however, these news disappeared and were replaced

by news of the military cooperation between Egypt and America and the defense facilities which Egypt will be providing for the American forces.

We wonder why has not the United States hastened to respond to President al-Sadat's request for a "Carter Plan" to rescue the Egyptian economy, similar to the Marshal Plan which was instituted by the United States in Europe after World War Two. President Anwar al-Sadat was optimistic when he called upon America to provide Egypt with an aid program that would salvage the Egyptian economy and provide prosperity for Egypt and the Egyptian people. But instead of responding quickly to the President's request for a Carter economic plan, the United States is trying to drag Egypt into the policy of military pacts which Egypt has rejected for more than 25 years under extremely difficult political, economic and military conditions.

After having recognized Israel, ended the state of war with it, signed a peace treaty and declared time and again that the October war is the last war, we now allow ourselves to be dragged by the United States into a policy that serves only its oil and investment interests in the Middle East and the Gulf region.

Military association with the United States will provide us with no benefits. Our problem today is economic not military. Military association with the United States will widen and deepen the rift between Egypt and the Arab states and deprive us of the huge financial, investment and economic resources which these states (which the United States and all West European countries are trying to woo and deal with) can offer to us. Military association with the United States will weaken Egypt's position among the non-aligned states. Egypt was one of the founders of positive neutrality and nonalignment, and remained for a long time a leader of positive neutrality and nonalignment. Egypt has benefited politically and economically from its strict adherence to that policy and used to receive aid and loans from the two superpowers in appreciation of its role in international politics.

We are against military association with the United States or any other state. We do not want to involve ourselves in problems and conflicts between the two superpowers. We have enough of our own. If the United States is seeking its national security in Egypt, it should first seek with us our economic security.

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## LACK OF APPARATUS TO SUPERVISE DEVELOPMENT

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jun 80 p 9

[Article: "Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd al-Majid Admits Lack of Apparatus to Supervise Development in Egypt"]

[Text] Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd al-Majid, the deputy prime minister for financial and economic affairs and planning, has admitted that for three years as planning minister in previous governments he knew nothing about development projects in Egypt.

In remarks he made at his first meetings with the People's Assembly's Planning and Economic Committees, the deputy prime minister said that there is no apparatus for development in Egypt at the present time and that all the figures and statistics that he used to receive about the various projects were wrong and inaccurate.

He went on to say that some \$6 billion in foreign loans remain unused, the reason being that the loans were contracted to finance projects that were not listed in the economic and social development plan and therefore remained in abeyance. He said that this has also caused the arrival of equipment for projects which were initiated somewhere between 10 and 16 years ago but which remain unfinished, such as the Al-Mansurah Hospital and the Asyut University Hospital. The equipment has been sitting in boxes for years and has remained there without any local financing.

Dr 'Abd al-Majid said: "The wrong planning policy which has been adopted caused the suspension of many projects. I cite as an example the Al-Fayyum sewage project. The governor of al-Fayyum asked for 4 million pounds this year for the implementation of that project, but the state allocated 50,000 pounds only for the project. The governor has refused to receive that sum of money and the project remains unimplemented as a result."

Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd al-Majid also said that he admits all the errors that have been committed in the planning policies of the past few years, on the grounds that ministerial accountability is a joint one. He also admitted the complications which have developed as a result of those errors. He noted that redressing the complications and repercussions was more serious than redressing the problem itself.

The deputy prime minister went on to say that rationalizing the economic course of the country involves more than just shifting the prices of commodities. It also involves the banking system, the public sector and the rationalization of foreign trade. Finding remedies for all those problems, he said, would go a long way toward solving the problem of inflation. The decrease in the size of deficit in the budget does not mean that the problem has been resolved.

He pointed out that there is no apparatus to supervise and oversee the process of disbursement of funds allocated for the development plan. The Investment Bank, he said, would reinstate the confidence that has been lost as a result of channeling funds to purposes other than those specified in the plan and would insure that each project would get its due, nothing more nothing less, and that funds earmarked for a certain project would not be spent on another behind our backs. He said that he would not endorse any check for any project unless the project touches all bases.

The minister referred to projects that have remained unimplemented since the 1960's, citing as examples all the hospitals that had been begun, the faltering pace of building schools and the expiration of the (presumed) durability or age of factories and the need to undertake urgent efforts to rejuvenate and replace those factories. He said that the major reason behind this problem is that projects are tied to specific annual budgets.

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## SLP CALLS FOR SUSPENSION OF NORMALIZATION WITH ISRAEL

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 17 Jun 80 pp 4, 5

[Article: "Ibrahim Shukri Declares at a Popular Rally in Port Sa'id: Socialism Is the Right Path for Solving the Problems of the Masses."]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), said that the price decreases announced by the government recently have not included basic commodities needed by the people such as fava beans, oil and sugar, and that there is a shortage in many of these necessary commodities. The problem of prices, he said, is not the concern of the National Democratic Party (NDP) alone, but is a problem that concerns us all. The disappearance of commodities from the marketplace pushes their prices up. The correct way to reducing prices, he said, is to follow a real socialist policy, especially since the average income per capita in Egypt is no more than \$350. The SLP leader was speaking at a popular rally sponsored by the party in Port Sa'id Thursday evening.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri wondered how an Egyptian whose annual average income is so small can afford to secure his necessities while prices are constantly rising. He explained that socialism would define the most important problems from which the masses suffer and draw up a scientific plan to solve those problems with our own efforts.

He said that the SLP is prepared to support the NDP if it drew up such a plan, but although the ruling party calls its philosophy a socialist democratic philosophy, its conduct is not in accord with socialism.

## An Opposition Party

The SLP leader referred to claims that the SLP emerged because the ruling party wanted to set up a new opposition party, and said that the SLP was established because there are men in Egypt who believe in democracy not in single opinions. When President al-Sadat called for a new party which he would lead instead of the Egypt Arab Socialist Party, I wanted to do something that others may refrain from doing. I said to myself that Mamduh Salim, the former leader of the Egypt party, is a man who did not have a major political history before the corrective revolution, and yet his party attracted so many people. So when a man like President Anwar al-Sadat, the

leader of the corrective revolution and the crossing [that is the 1973 war when Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal] and a man who has had a notable history before and after the [1952] revolution, calls for the establishment of the NDP, how can there be a chance for democracy then? The overwhelming majority of the people would join his party and there would be no other opinion to correct mistakes and offer options, especially given the kind of things that were being said about the opposition parties that existed at that time. The Neo-Wafd party was described as a party that wanted to push history back and the National Grouping Party was described as suspect opposition.

Guided by my conscience and out of a conviction that I am part of this people, I stepped up to form the SLP. I knew very well that I would not be accused of a desire to push the revolution backwards, for I have taken part in paving the way for the revolution. The Socialist Party's newspaper is the biggest witness to our struggle against the monarchy and colonialism. When the revolution broke out, I was incarcerated in the Cairo Prison on charges of slandering the person of the king. After the revolution I was always one of the defenders of democracy and the people's freedom. From the very first minute of the corrective revolution, I supported it because I was in favor of democracy.

In the light of all that, I decided to call for the formation of a new party. There were, however, legal obstacles over which I had no control. The law stipulated that 20 members of the People's Assembly should agree to be members of the party before the party can be legally sanctioned. This legal obstacle did not prevent me from continuing to realize all those things that I believe in. I told myself that all political parties were dissolved after the revolution under the pretext that they have corrupted political life in the country. But a popular referendum excluded the National Party and the Socialist Party from that corruption.

Without getting into any comments on referendums, the referendum legally annulled the previous decision to abolish the Socialist Party in 1953. At any rate, I proceeded with God's blessings and the support of sincere men, to form the SLP. In the process we were gratefully surprised by President al-Sadat's decision to ask the NDP members of the People's Assembly to sign the declaration documents required by the political parties' law. But, for the record, the SLP did not depend on that declaration to apply to the Arab Socialist Union. We waited for a number of days until enough members of the People's Assembly joined us so as to meet the legal requirements for the formation of the party. As soon as we had enough members of the People's Assembly to meet the legal requirements, we applied to the parties committee at the Socialist Union. The documents we submitted were those signed by 20 members of the Assembly, not those signed by hundreds of other members who deserve our gratitude for seeking with President al-Sadat to help proclaim the SLP.

A Statement of Account

Despite all those efforts by men who are concerned with democracy in our country, rumors continued to say that the SLP was formed to put an end to the other opposition. Those who knew me and know my career are fully aware that I can never be used as a bludgeon to put an end to the other opposition.

Now, nearly two years after our initiation, we say that, through speaking out freely and honestly at the People's Assembly and on the pages of AL-SHA'B, we have exercised objective opposition which defends the people's interests. We are not afraid of expressing opposition if what we say is in keeping with our principles and program.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri noted that "there are many examples to sustain that. Immediately following our establishment, we opposed the donation of 16,000 pounds by the General Union of Land Transportation to the NDP because such a donation is in violation of the parties' law. We were not worried that someone would say that such a measure was an unfriendly gesture toward the ruling party, for the law is the law. This is how we understand democracy.

From that time on we spoke out against any action that was not in accord with the homeland's interests. We criticized reports in OCTOBER that Egypt would be sending Nile waters to Jerusalem. I spoke about this subject at the People's Assembly and pointed out the serious repercussions of such a measure on our relations with the African states. We hear nowadays of an Ethiopian memo about the question of how the Nile waters should be used. Although the memo does not mention Egypt by name, it is clearly directed at us, and this has prompted the minister of irrigation to make a statement at the People's Assembly reaffirming Egypt's right to use the waters of the Nile. We could have done without such a statement if only we pay attention in our actions to national issues."

"Furthermore," engineer Shukri went on, "the SLP criticized the Egyptian government's statements on sisterly Sudan. It is not proper for us to say: if the Sudan wants to sever its relations with us, then let it do so. I have reaffirmed in the People's Assembly that Egypt and the Sudan are one country and that the future of Egypt's food security is interwoven with our relations and cooperation with the Sudan. All scientific estimates show that we cannot meet our food needs no matter how much we increase our agricultural production. We import 40 percent of our food needs and 70 percent of the wheat we need. Our own wheat production can only sustain us for three and a half months. We may be getting food products from the United States, but we have to remember that those food deliveries are meant to hitch us to the United States. We have to remember that when the United States wanted to punish the Soviet Union following the Afghanistan developments, it embargoed wheat shipments to it. So food products, especially wheat, have become a weapon in the hands of the food producing countries in the field of international relations."

The SLP leader added that "if the independence of our national will is really the goal of the ruling party, as its slogan indicates, then we should rely on our own production and on cooperation with the Sudan and the other Arab

countries. It would be improper for anyone to say in reply that our view is at variance with the country's national policy. The SLP understands national policy as one seeking to promote the interests of this country. In accordance with this concept and understanding, our party demands that our ambassador be immediately recalled from Israel, that the Israeli ambassador be expelled from Cairo and that the process of normalization between us and Israel be suspended. Our party also demands that the Egyptian peace negotiators not go to Washington to discuss the suspension of the autonomy talks. Israel is still refusing to implement the second part of the peace treaty and to grant autonomy to the brotherly Palestinian people. It is still waging a battle of elimination against the Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza, building settlements on Arab lands and issuing laws claiming that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. It is doing all this to further rip apart the unity of Arab ranks, which was responsible for the great October victory, and to further isolate Egypt, the largest Arab country, from the rest of the Arab nation, because it knows that Egypt is to the Arab nation what the head is to the rest of the body, that Egypt's defeat spells defeat for all Arabs and its victory means victory for all Arabs.

Therefore, the SLP, which advocates in its program the establishment of the United Arab States, affirms that we cannot base our national policy on a permanent quarrel with the Arab nation and individual Arab governments, and that we have to look for a way to repair damaged inter-Arab relations and dress our wounds, lest Israel realize in peace what it has failed to realize in war.

The leader of the SLP concluded his speech by saying that the SLP will continue to represent the conscience of this nation truthfully and honestly regardless of the difficulties.

The popular rally in Port Sa'id had started with a recital from the Koran. Then engineer Ibrahim Shukri and the delegation accompanying him greeted Nabil 'Abd al-Latif, the rapporteur of the SLP's Information Committee in Port Sa'id, lawyer Ahmad Husayn, member of the Higher Committee and Fu'ad Hidiyyah, secretary of the SLP in the governorate.

Artist Hamdi Ahmad, member of the SLP's Higher Committee and Parliamentary Committee, then spoke about the role of art in serving the issues and problems of the masses. He criticized the foreign television serials which are showing in Egypt nowadays such as The Green Man and the Six Million Dollar Man. He said that such programs distort the thinking of our children and bring violence into our homes, whereas the message of art is to enlighten people and give them a sense of security and comfort.

Artist Hamdi Ahmad gave an objective analysis of art and politics and how they both should involve truthfulness, integrity and purity. True art, he said, should be virtuous and upright, and so should the honest politician.

Stop Normalization

The floor was then given to Rif'at al-Shahawi, secretary general of the SLP, who demanded that the Egyptian government expel the Israeli ambassador from Cairo and stop the normalization process so that Israel may understand that we will not allow it to persist in its procrastination and deception with regards to the rights of the Palestinian people. He then said that the SLP was established to deepen the concepts of freedom and democracy in Egypt and defend the interests of the broad masses of the people, and that the party's struggle is dedicated to the sole purpose of serving the people.

The SLP secretary general reviewed the career and struggle of engineer Ibrahim Shukri. He said that President al-Sadat once said of engineer Shukri that he is a man who has earned the medal which we all covet, namely, the wound which he received from a bullet during the 1935 demonstrations in favor of democracy and a constitution. He thus gave of his blood to Egypt and is today resuming his march. Al-Shahawi said that we are exercising democracy for the sake of the Egyptian people and that we oppose anything that is against our views and party program and against the interests of our homeland and the Arab nation.

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## PRIVILEGES GIVEN TO FOREIGN INVESTMENTS ATTACKED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 17 Jun 80 pp 8, 9

[Article: "Economic Study Warns: Egypt Will Revert to Financial and Industrial Feudalism; Exemptions Given to Foreign Investments Destroy National Projects and Create New Centers of Power and Influence"]

[Text] The present investment law will create in Egypt a kind of financial and industrial feudalism which will be no less harmful and dangerous than agricultural feudalism. This warning was sounded by a scientific study conducted by Dr Muhammad 'Ali Rif'at, the former secretary general of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization.

The study shows that Investment Law No 43 for 1974 as amended by Law No 32 for 1977 is based on the principle of "exemption" which only benefits foreign capital. According to that law, foreign capital is exempted from Egyptian public laws. Despite all those exemptions, investors are not satisfied and demand more concessions because they know that they will get what they want as long as the country's options are limited and demand for foreign investments is growing. The study cautions against the serious danger which threatens national projects as a result of this, especially if the government continues to ignore dealing correctly with this anomalous situation.

The major consequences of this situation can be summed up as follows:

1. Blatant discrimination between privileged and unprivileged projects operating in the same field which would eliminate competition among them and cause the deterioration of unprivileged projects which make up the bulk of the national economy, in the face of unfair competition. The losses which would be caused by such a situation cannot be recouped by the profits and gains expected to accrue from investment projects. This, in addition to the emergence of groups of profit-seekers--adventurers, brokers and agents--who will try to make quick profits by all legitimate and illegitimate means in the shadow of a law that is solely based on exemptions. Moreover, we will see talents and skills being snatched by foreign investments, especially rare and unusual skills. Privileged investment concerns have been known to tempt production workers with high salaries, thus adversely affecting the efficiency of the public sector because it is difficult to replace such talents and expertise.

2. Limited-term material concessions and privileges tempt investors, especially foreign investors, to favor quick-profit projects so that they can recover all their investment before the end of the concession period and return with their profits to their respective countries. In fact, those limited-term material privileges could have more serious consequences if the projects fold after the end of the concession period.
3. Privileged treatment tempts those responsible for privileged projects to squander resources and pay little attention to cost factors. This might lead to the emergence of high-cost industries that would be unable to compete in foreign markets.
4. The excessive reliance of privileged projects on loans to meet investment costs at the rate of 45 percent would overly burden these projects and seriously affect their future in view of the astronomical level of interest costs.
5. Discrimination in treatment on the basis of legal provisions often leads to deviation and corruption and encourages the emergence of financial and economic centers of power and influence.
6. Concentration on negative measures through exceptional treatment in addition to a fascination with privileged projects lead to laxity in searching for alternative positive measures.
7. Discrimination in treatment in the field of investment creates economic dualism which is one of the most serious and damaging maladies that can afflict the national economy, because such discrimination was the royal door to economic dualism whereby [line dropped]. The establishment of economic sectors or projects which become exclusively theirs, leaves for the helpless citizens backward traditional sectors whose remnants still plague the economies of developing countries. Economic experts rightly consider these to be the mark of economic backwardness.

The study calls back to mind the long suffering of Egypt when foreign capital controlled its economy for generations under the system of privileges for foreigners. The study expresses amazement that someone would contend that the law endorsing all such exemptions embodies a general policy laid down by the state. Is it logical, the study wonders, that a host of exemptions from public laws be an expression or a part of a public policy?

What is worse is that such a policy is meant to represent an economic open door policy, since an open door policy would not normally promote and uphold special exemptions, and that the allegation is made by the government apparatus which is entrusted with the implementation of the investment law.

#### **They Laughed at Us and Said It's an Economic Open Door**

The study emphasizes that neither Law No 43 of 1974 as amended by Law No 32 of 1977 nor any law preceding them contains the words "open door." If anything, the term "open door," in the context of the contemporary Egyptian

state of affairs, means a transition from one condition to another--from artificial obstacles to the disappearance of those obstacles and the return of public confidence in the laws which regulate economic projects.

#### Open Policy Innocent of Investment Projects

The study concludes that projects which emerge as a result of the investment law forfeit their claim to being part of the economic open door policy, in content and application. To demonstrate the veracity of its conclusions, the study reviews the report put out by the Investment Authority, which claims tutelage over the open door policy, about its achievements and the projects which it had approved since its establishment in 1971 and until 31 December 1978.

The report says: The number of projects at home approved by the Investment Authority was 591 projects with a total capital of 1,664 million pounds, 41 percent in local currency, 59 percent in foreign currency, while investment costs for all those projects was 3,045 million pounds.

The study points out that the report did not make it clear whether the foreign capital was actually received and investment expenditure has actually occurred, nor was it clear about the basis on which the exchange of foreign currency with Egyptian pounds was made.

#### Investment Breeds Banks

The study sheds more light on some aspects of the Investment Authority's report, saying that the most important part of the report was the one which dealt with the value of real production realized by the privileged projects which have begun production. The study says that the report cites extremely amazing statistics on production in 19 sectors, led by the banking sector with 78 percent of the total production of all projects. Behind it came the sector of professional industries (6 percent), tourism (4 percent), chemical industries (4 percent) and housing (2 percent).

The study says: The amazing thing in this official report is that the activities of the banks benefiting from the Investment Law added to the GNP 940 million pounds, or 78 percent of the output of all the investment projects. If these illogical figures are true, then there should have been as much efforts as possible to increase that strange banking activity.

The study wonders how can one interpret the statistics mentioned in the report, namely, that 21 banking projects which have begun operating or are about to do so, have had a total investment expenditure of 112 million pounds while their real production amounted to 930 million pounds, that is about seven times as much as its total capital. What makes it more amazing, the study goes on, is that the new banks, either the exclusively foreign banks or the joint banks all of which have found a good and stable grazing grounds in Egypt, have invested only a fraction of their new huge assets in new Egyptian projects. It is a well known fact that most of those banks invest

the greater part of their assets in financial markets abroad which do not benefit Egypt in any way, not even in taxes on profits. Why then, the study asks, are those banks exempted from all kinds of taxes and in whose interest is this being done?

#### **The Investment Authority's Report**

The study says that the data and statements contained in the report of the Investment Authority are not enough to draw reliable conclusions with regard to the accomplishments of the investment projects, especially the performance of the authority entrusted with the implementation of the Investment Law.

The study expresses amazement about the report's contention that the Investment Authority is the apparatus which is responsible for the implementation of the economic open door policy, although the authority was established in 1971, the open door policy was officially endorsed in the referendum which took place on 15 May 1974 to vote on the October Paper and the Investment Law was issued in June 1974 without a single reference to the open door policy.

The study emphasizes that the problem of foreign investments cannot be detached from the environment and climate of national investments because such a detachment would involve serious dangers.

The study comes to the conclusion that the question of foreign investments is a question of climate and that national investments share the ups and downs of that climate. Also, the practical value of foreign and national investments depends on the degree of stability they enjoy which would convince savers and investors alike that their interests are safe.

The climate should also be healthy, allowing movement toward economic development and advancement. Indeed, the term investment in modern societies is now synonymous with the development of production activities through the use of technology which requires large investments.

The study also stressed that a proper and healthy climate should be accompanied by an atmosphere of stability. This principally requires a rational social and economic policy and a capable economic management. These two elements provide the right indicator which would tell us about the future of foreign investments in Egypt, in particular, and the Egyptian economy, in general. The study says that this cannot come about unless we adhered to the correct concept of the economic open door policy. In accordance with such a concept, the economic situation in Egypt would be treated through liberating the means of productive activities from fetters, restrictions and obstructions. When this is done, a serious investor—foreign or national—would not need special privileges.



## HOUSING PROBLEMS ANALYZED, REMEDIAL MEASURES PROPOSED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 17 Jun 80 pp 10, 11

[Article by Engineer Muhammad Hasan Durrah: "A Study on the Housing Issue; Egypt's Area Is Vast and Yet a Crisis Exists in Building Lands"]

[Text] A million or about a million square kilometers--this has been the size of Egypt for thousands of years. It has not increased or decreased. A single thin green strip along the Nile--the Nile valley and the delta--accounting for one percent of the total area is the only area that has been exploited for thousands of years.

From a few million people, the population has soared to more than 40 million. It has been a huge explosion occurring in a few years and months. Indeed, it is occurring every second. All you have to do, to quote a favorite advertisement phrase, is look around you. Is it not a difficult and bitter formula by any standard?

Once again we take a look at one aspect of Egypt's national question, or actually the core issue in Egypt, namely, the question of housing. This time we look at it through research and study in order to devise, through sound planning, immediate implementation and careful followup, a solution which would eradicate the problem entirely. A temporary palliative would not eliminate the crisis, or silence the voices that are talking about it. Nor will the problem be solved by statements that are made for local consumption. Several recommendations have been made and several views have been expressed. Plans have been drawn up on paper and have earned their share--actually, more than their share--of discussion and debate. But they fade away soon enough and remain confined to files for years and years--mere ink on paper. While these plans remain locked up in desks and files, problems deteriorate, voices rise in anger or agony, and controversy and debate re-emerge. And after this storm subsides, things return to where they were before--mere ink on paper.

Change, movement and reform in our country are unavoidable. The problem, however, is that they are moving too slowly, that the age is pressing on at great, viciously crushing speed while we are poorly equipped or unable to cope and catch up with it. The alarm signals are flashing and screaming all around us and all we do is respond with the speed of a turtle. We turn our full attention to the symptoms and manifestations of a disease but ignore the genesis of that disease and yet think that we have cured the malady.



This is the problem of our country--more precisely, this is the problem of most of the countries of the Third World.

### Back to Our Problem: The Housing Flight

Next to financing, which is the propulsive power behind housing projects, one of the most serious elements of the housing crisis has to do with lands which are unsuitable for building and are equipped with the necessary services and utilities. We cannot, of course, build a housing unit while ignoring water lines or the sources of water, healthy drainage and work and services opportunities for the inhabitants, as human beings who are in need of all those amenities.

As the prime minister said in this regard: "Hope is pinned on the building of new towns and the establishment of new communities for the solution of the problem of coming up with the necessary lands for the housing plan." I have reviewed the comprehensive statement delivered by the minister of housing at the People's Assembly on 7 February, 1976, that is more than four years ago, in which he dealt with all the problems of housing, including financing, utilities, employment, construction, building materials, availability of lands, the syndrome of speculation in land prices and housing laws designed to encourage the private sector and push forward work on building new towns. The minister said that the planning of some of these towns was begun in January 1975 and he mentioned other matters. If these matters were faithfully and carefully implemented in their time, we would not have reached the situation in which we find ourselves.

We regretfully repeat what we have said before, namely, that words and deeds are two different things.

### The 20-Year National Plan

In that part of the report of the National Housing Commission (NHC) which pertains to the questions of lands and new townships, we find that the land needs of the plan over the next 20 years, that is until the year 2000, amount to 144,000 feddans which can accommodate 3.6 million housing units. This is what is specified in the plan, as we have pointed out in the preceding part of this study. These lands have to be made available from the following resources:

1. Neglected lands within the urban areas in the governorates.
2. The urban extensions around the major cities.
3. The new townships and communities.

Actually, an area of about 38,000 feddans, or 26 percent of the required total area, was found within the framework of the existing cities and around those cities. As for the 9 new cities which have been approved, namely, 10 Ramadan, 15 May, Al-Sadat, Al-'Amiriyyah, 6 October, Al-Anal, Al-'Ubur and

two other cities within the framework of greater Cairo, the total area of those cities amounts to about 28,000 feddans, that is about 19 percent of the land required by the plan. Thus, the total area of lands which have been found by the state came to about 66,000 feddans, or about 45 percent of the total required area. This area can accommodate 1.6 million housing units only. That is to say that the rest of the plan, namely, the construction of some two million housing units, requires about 78,000 feddans which must be found in areas that are being built up outside the Nile valley. These areas have to be found to accommodate new townships and communities which have to be equipped with utilities immediately throughout the length and width of Egypt.

If we bear in mind that the expected increase in population by the year 2000 will be nearly 24 million people, and that the present cities and towns are already incapable of absorbing more than 6 million persons, it means that the new cities and communities which have to be built must be able to accommodate at least 18 million people until the year 2000. This is the only way to solve the housing problem. The prime minister referred to this serious matter in September of 1979.

We know that the first five-year plan, 1981-85, requires 27,000 feddans. Of these, only 18,000 feddans were made available within the present cities, the new suburbs and the new cities and townships. It is thus necessary to provide immediately 9,000 extra feddans in open lands within the urban framework in the governorates and around the cities. It is also necessary to press on with work in the new cities to absorb larger ratios of the population.

#### **Expected Confrontation Between Housing and Development Ministries**

After having studied the situation and inspected the progress of work in the areas located within the around the cities, which constitute 26 percent, and the new, announced cities, which constitute 19 percent of the required surface land, we discover that the plan to provide these areas with utilities and services, which is a vital and difficult phase which requires many years has not been implemented on the required level. Actual implementation has actually begun in only three cities:

1. The 10 Ramadan city, along the Cairo-Alexandria road, whose potentialities depend on industry and agriculture. Work has already begun on this city more than three years ago and it has gone some ways. But there are still no large factories and plants which can absorb the working force which is the nucleus of this city and the core of its productive capacity. True, the city has several small plants, but we notice that the large factories still prefer to be situated along the northern and southern approaches to Cairo, which adds to the congestion in the capital.
2. The 15 May city in Hilwan. Work on this city is proceeding at a pace which is proportionate to the small and limited funds allocated for it. Perhaps the greatest justification for the building of this city is that it is designed to serve the workers in the present industrial city of Hilwan.

Some of the obstacles include the imbalance between the incomes of workers and the rents of the housing units.

3. The al-Sadat city. This city primarily depends on industry and modern advanced agriculture. It is situated near the Cairo-Alexandria desert road. Work on the city began in 1978 when some roads and administrative buildings were built, wells were sunk and utilities were begun, but the means of industry have not been established there yet. We are not sure whether this year's allocations will permit work to begin on public buildings and housing alongside factories.

All those new cities, as well as the areas established in present cities and the new suburbs surrounding them, lack the necessary plans to provide them with new utilities or at least to renew the old and exhausted utilities in the great cities.

As for the city for al-'Amiriyah, which is located along the Cairo-Alexandria road, it also depends on industry and agriculture and has the elements of an independent city quite separate from Alexandria. Work has not begun of that city yet, with the exception of the building of some roads leading to the city. Funds are being raised to spend on providing the city with utilities. Factories to be built in Alexandria are supposed to be catering to this new city so that it may get its share of development. As for the other cities, they have been merely planned on the ground, nothing more.

#### Huge Projects and Limited Allocations

The fact which emerges from the way in which work has been proceeding in the new cities, as we have shown, is that the national housing plan cannot be met. This is not due to negligence or laxity on the part of the ministry of development and new communities but due to the lack of adequate allocations for those planned cities, in addition to the lack of coordination on the question of building and establishing the means and bases of industries in those cities.

What is peculiar is that the sum of 32 million pounds was allocated in the 1980 budget under the heading of new cities and communities although the plan aims at the implementation of huge projects which cost some 156 million pounds. Can there be anything more inadequate than that? Even more peculiarly, the sum of 32 million pounds, after deductions pertaining to chapters one and two and various facilities, has dwindled to about only 8 million pounds of local currency which would be spent on various aspects of development in the new cities. Would such a miniscule sum of money bring about any aspect of the ambitious plan of the ministry of development and new communities? Therein lies the seriousness and truth of the situation.

How then can we solve this variable formula for the cities--a formula which involves a difference of at least 200 million pounds? As we take another look at the sums of money earmarked for the establishment of utilities in all the new cities, we wonder in whose interest we are laughing at ourselves and taking lightly questions and matters which are most serious.

As a result of the lack of new lands equipped with utilities, officials were forced to issue instructions ordering the erection of additional floors on present buildings and permitting the exhaustion of open lands in important areas. Buildings were raised from 20 to 45 floors, in violation of the housing law. This excess overtaxes the water, drainage, health and electric utilities. This, in addition to several other transgressions, such as the encroachment of new buildings on agricultural lands adjacent to cities in a haphazard manner which led to the exhaustion of present utilities and sent land prices to fantastic heights. Can one imagine that the price of land per meter in Imbabah, Bulaq al-Dakrur or (Al-Alwiyah al-Hanra') rose from one or two pounds 15 years ago to one hundred or two hundred pounds at present. The same situation exists in the rest of the governorates. Land prices have increased in the same ratio due to the decrease in land supply and an enormous demand for land because of the slowness of planning which should have been implemented some 30 years ago at least.

### The Proposed Cure

The recoup some of what we have missed and to cope with our housing plans, we must necessarily invite international establishments of expertise and know-how which are specialized in the construction of cities to join Egyptian consultation bureaus which specialize in planning to set forth a new planning concept for the new cities and communities which would be in accord with the 20-year national plan.

The following steps are also needed:

1. All funding efforts should be consolidated. Egyptian, Arab and foreign capitals should be involved in the plan, and concessions should be given to world companies and Egyptian and foreign investors who are specialized in this field in order to build new cities and communities, as we have seen happening in the Cairo area. The government became a partner with a certain percentage in return for providing the necessary lands.
2. Pushing forward the work now going on in the new cities with the knowledge of the government, by providing the necessary large allocations, provided that factories required for the industrial cities be established. This could be done by means of selling lands to companies and coops which are able to undertake immediate construction, in addition to willing individuals. The revenue from all this would be used to support the allocations for such work.
3. Expanding renewal projects by means of demolishing the old decrepit areas in cities and re-utilizing them in a better economic fashion.
4. Transferring buildings occupying and housing military activities and training facilities which are located within the urban bloc in the Nasr city, Maer al-Jadidah and elsewhere to desert areas and re-inhabiting and re-utilizing them after planning them anew and providing them with the necessary utilities.



5. Abstaining from establishing more factories in Cairo and the major cities and to obligate those interested in setting up such factories to do so in the new cities.

6. Encouraging collective professional migration for young Egyptians so as to develop the new communities, especially those in the remote and desert areas, and to enjoy the fruits of the land.

7. Showing an interest in developing a concept of the regional planning required for the first 50 years of the 21st century so as to create new areas that would attract people.

In this regard, we have learned that one of our specialists in city planning has presented a detailed study on this problem to the higher authorities. He is Dr Ahmad Mukhtar, professor of planning at al-Azhar University's college of engineering and a former dean of the college and a member of the Higher National Committee for Housing. I appeal to the competent authorities to turn over such studies to the National Housing Commission (NHC) which should be in a state of continuous session so that important issues pertaining to housing may be referred to it.

8. Conducting a study, for long-term implementation, of the locations of cemeteries in the major cities, similar to the study which was the basis of the decision to move the cemeteries of Bab al-Nasr to desert areas removed from populated areas. This would make available vital lands for housing while also avoiding the effects of the presence of such cemeteries amidst densely populated areas.

9. Establishing government office complexes in the new suburbs after re-mapping and re-planning those areas so as to vacate the buildings used by government agencies which are scattered in various locations, on the one hand, and to make it easier for citizens to conduct their business in complexes located in the same place.

Can this approach enable us to save the situation and make up for the drawbacks and shortcomings of the past? More important, we should pose our usual question once again: Are we really serious in our intention to deal with the housing problem in our country?

This is a matter that is open for discussion by the public and our specialized scientists. It is part of the overall problem of housing which should be constantly debated.

In a future edition, God willing, we will examine the nerve center of the problem--financing.

May God guide us to the well-being and prosperity of beloved Egypt. God is the grantor of success.

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## SLP VIEWS ON ELECTION SYSTEM, PRESS SYNDICATE, AUTONOMY TALKS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Jun 80 p 2

[Article: "Important Political Decisions by the Higher Committee of the Socialist Labor Party: Boycott of Consultative Council Elections and Complete Support for Maintaining the Press Syndicate and Freedom of the Press"]

[Text] The Higher Committee of the SLP has issued a number of important resolutions at the meeting it held under party leader Ibrahim Shukri on the afternoon of 17 June. The agenda included the following points:

1. The party's position on the Consultative Council's elections.
2. The party's position on the status of the Egyptian press and the press syndicate.
3. The party's views on the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations.

The party leader and a number of the parliamentary members of the party presented a summary of the deliberations which took place at the People's Assembly's session earlier in the day to debate the Consultative Council bill. They also summarized the objections made by representatives of the SLP to the bill and to the election system by party ticket which was proposed by the National Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP insisted on this system without regard to proportional representation. This would insure that the NDP would have all the seats on the State Council.

Most members of the Higher Committee criticized this distortion of the system of election by party ticket, which is followed in some democratic countries where seats are distributed in proportion to the votes received by any one party. That system would enhance the multi-party system, while the method proposed by the NDP would reassert something akin to the one-party system by insisting that the ticket which receives a majority of 50 percent plus one, would win all the seats.

Members of the Higher Committee agreed that it was important to issue a statement in the name of the party to show why the party would boycott the elections for the Consultative Council.

## Conditions of the Egyptian Press

Discussions then shifted to the conditions of the Egyptian press. The conferees insisted on the need to maintain the press syndicate, and stressed the need to support it, grant it all the jurisdictions to which it is entitled in the regulations, protect journalists and secure press freedom.

The Higher Committee said that it adheres to that part of the SLP platform which said that there can be no tutelage over the press and the press syndicate by any authority or by the Higher Press Council whose establishment is opposed by the SLP.

The conferees also underlined the importance of turning the ownership of national newspapers to the people by turning them into joint-stock companies whose ownership would be shared by the public and those working in newspaper houses and the press syndicate within certain bounds and percentages which would prevent any one group from controlling the national press.

The Higher Council feels that the abolition of the Socialist Union in accordance with constitutional amendments is an opportunity to liberate the Egyptian press and that the Consultative Council or the Higher Council of the Press should replace the Socialist Union in controlling the destinies of the Egyptian press.

The Higher Committee decided to issue a statement on the conditions of the Egyptian press which would express the party's support of the principle of keeping and maintaining the press syndicate and safeguarding the freedom of the press.

## Negotiations with Israel

The SLP Higher Committee discussed the faltering Egyptian-Israeli negotiations on autonomy for the Palestinians. It expressed the SLP's reservations over the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and said that positive steps should be taken to confront the intransigent Israeli policy and the Zionist terrorism in the West Bank and southern Lebanon.

The SLP's Arab Affairs and Foreign Relations Committee will hold an urgent meeting to prepare a study on the party's position in this regard.

## Forthcoming Meeting

The SLP Higher Committee will resume its meetings on 30 June at the SLP headquarters.

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CSO: 4802

## SLP DECIDES TO BOYCOTT CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Jun 80 p 4

[Statement by Ibrahim Shukri, Leader of the Socialist Labor Party: "The SLP Decides Not to Participate in the Consultative Council Elections"]

[Text] Great people of Egypt, the SLP came into being to reaffirm democracy and cement the multi-party system, thereby contributing to the abolition of one-party rule and the totalitarian system, so that all citizens may participate in constructing the political edifice of our great Egypt.

In the program it proclaimed on 12 October 1978, the SLP recorded the following:

The multi-party system is a safeguard against the dictatorship of the individual or the single political organization. Restrictions imposed on the formation of parties should be abolished, leaving it for the people alone to oversee these parties. No quarter should be permitted to impose tutelage over them, and if they were to deviate from the democratic, constitutional path, then they should be liable before the civil law.

Parliamentary opposition is a safeguard. Legislative provisions which guarantee the right of the opposition to express its views on all matters, especially matters of national importance; enable it to carry out its role; and protect it from pressure and aggression should be drawn up and set forth.

1. Out of its belief that free and honest elections are one of the basic components of democracy, the SLP participated in the People's Assembly elections of June 1979, only a few months after its inception officially.

Despite the transgressions which took place in the People's Assembly elections and the interferences made by officials to insure the success of the ruling party's candidate, the 176 SLP candidates who participated in the elections worked hard and campaigned energetically. The people supported them remarkably. They were thus able to receive about 30 percent of the total vote--about the same percentage received by the ruling party's candidates who took over the majority of seats in the People's Assembly, after a number of independent candidates and SLP candidates went over to the ruling party. Despite this, 30 members of the People's Council continued to lead

the opposition members. They committed themselves to the principle of being the other view, to objective solutions for the problems of the masses, and to monitoring the executive branch within the means available to them.

2. Furthermore, the SLP agreed to participate in the elections of the local people's councils, despite the fact that a large number of SLP members expressed the desire to boycott those elections in protest against what had occurred in the People's Assembly elections.

3. Out of a belief that the SLP should participate in all political activities, especially those of going into the street and fusing with the masses to defend their interests and present the party program to them, the SLP began to consider the idea of participating in the elections for the Consultative Council despite all our reservations about the manner in which the elections would be held.

Despite difficulties which deprive political parties of equitable opportunities to wage the elections battle, the SLP Higher Committee and its parliamentary representatives held a series of meetings to discuss the question of participation in the Consultative Council's elections.

The party began to examine an electoral procedure based on a party ticket coupled with proportional representation to insure that the votes of electors are not wasted in vain, because a large number of candidates lost by a very thin margin. Actually, the loss was by a few voices which went to the winning candidate who may be representing 51 percent of the voters without regard to the 49 percent who did not vote for him.

The study showed that conducting the elections on the basis of party tickets and proportional representation would give each political party entering the elections an opportunity to win a number of seats proportionally equal to the percentage of votes received by the party. This would insure that any one party would not command an overwhelming majority after winning only 51 percent of the votes.

The NDP decided, however, to stick by its belief that the Consultative Council's elections should be conducted according to a system which was innovated by the NCP and never before applied in any state. The NDP insisted that the elections be conducted on the basis of party tickets but without proportional representation, so that a ticket which receives 51 percent of the votes would win in its entirety while a party receiving 49 percent of the vote would not be represented. Indeed, the NDP imposed a further restriction which provides that a party that does not receive 5 percent of the total votes in the governorates of the Egyptian Arab Republic would not win any seats in the Consultative Council even if one of its tickets won in a certain governorate. This is unprecedented in any democratic country.

4. The SLP records that the government which will conduct the elections is a partisan government formed by the NDP and that NDP ministers control the machinery which will run and oversee the elections. This, is in addition to the fact that all the regional governors in Egypt belong to the ruling party.

5. The SLP also records that the NDP government controls all the information media although the law specifies that the national press should be owned by the people and that political parties should be entitled to express their views and positions on the radio and television, especially during elections.

6. The SLP repeats its position that the NDP has exclusively taken over all the premises that belonged to the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) which was abolished by the recent constitutional amendments. It was normally expected that the various offices and premises of the ASU would be redistributed among the political parties in a fair and equitable manner so that the parties would have places and forums to hold meetings, practice political activities, meet with citizens and hold debates and panels between party candidates and voters.

The SLP also records that constitutional amendments involving Article 194 to 205 of the constitution which created the Consultative Council had defined the council as "an advisory council of the Egyptian family, expressing the views of all groups and organizations of the people on public issues."

It is clear from the statements which accompanied the emergence of the idea of the Consultative Council that the council was meant to be established on bases that differ completely from those of the People's Assembly. In that sense, it would be closer to the concept developed by some socialist systems (professional socialism) which provides that various groups can be best represented through elections within those groups. Therefore, the SLP was surprised when the bill pertaining to the proposed Consultative Council was couched in completely different terms which would not fulfill the objective prescribed by the constitutional amendment, namely, that the Consultative Council would be a representative of the Egyptian family, expressing the views of all groups and organizations of the people.

7. In view of all those impediments which might lead to the exclusive control of the Consultative Council by the NDP by shutting out the other political parties, the SLP cautions that such an action might drive citizens to despair of the success of the nascent democratic experiment and might lead to the re-emergence of one-party dominance with all its tragedies, encroachments and dangers to constitutional life.

8. Accordingly, the SLP most regretfully announces that it is compelled to boycott the Consultative Council elections.

God is great. Long live the people.

[Signed] Ibrahim Shukri, Leader of the SLP.

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## NPUG DECIDES TO BOYCOTT CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Jun 80 p 4

[Article: "The National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party Decides Not to Participate in the Consultative Council Elections"]

[Text] The NPUG has issued a statement in which it announced that it will not participate in the elections for the Consultative Council. The statement included the following:

The meaning of election by party ticket without proportional representation and the additional proviso that for a party to be represented in the council it should receive 50 percent of votes in all of Egypt, is that the ticket of the ruling party will win in its entirety and that no other party will be able to slip into the council, unless the ruling party condescends to allow it to do so. The upshot is that the Consultative Council will be a new kind of one-party dictatorship.

To this should be added the fact that the ruling party has ignored the rejection by the masses of the so-called Consultative Council and of the nature of that council which makes it indistinguishable from a parliamentary council, a trade union or even a charity. For the council has no decision-making role or a role of serving the masses and defending their rights, nor does it have any ties to the masses.

To this should also be added the fact that masses have been boycotting general plebiscites and elections, especially after the bitter experience of the 1979 People's Assembly elections which were marked by a glaring falsification of the will of the masses.

There is also the fact that repressive measures have been in ascendance and that there is an increasing tendency to suppress any opinion that does not agree with the opinions of the rulers, in addition to the fact that all the media--the printing press, radio and television--are controlled by the machinery and authorities of the ruling party.

If we add up all the preceding points, it becomes obvious that the NPUG's decision not to participate in the Consultative Council elections is a realistic necessity affirming the soundness of the principled position of

the party, especially since the regime is seeking, through the elections whose results are determined in advance, to obtain a false popular mandate that would reaffirm its claims, which are believed by no one, that it enjoys an overwhelming majority and popularity.

Our party cannot agree to participate in giving the regime this cover, which it needs to show to its allies and to justify the continuation of its policies, which are rejected by the people of Egypt.

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CSO: 4802

## VIEWS ON HOUSING PROBLEM APPEARING IN THE PRESS SUMMARIZED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Jun 80 p 11

[Article by Engineer Muhammad Hasan Durrah: "A Study of Press Headlines and Inquiries into the Population Problem: A New City for One Million Citizens Every Year Is Impossible"]

[Text] I apologize to the readers who are following the series of my study of the various components of the housing and population problem in Egypt, because I have to postpone my discussion for a few weeks. But I will stay with the population problem in this article, for the population problem is always on our minds. In view of the profusion of inquiries and sensational comments which have been appearing in the press lately, and which usually increase in tempo when cabinets change, about the housing problem which is generally perceived to be deteriorating, we saw fit to present to the readers some of these important inquiries and opinions on how to solve this problem. We do this because they spotlight various aspects of this multifaceted problem, and because the presentation of these views and our comments on them might clarify the vision of the officials responsible for housing and make it possible for them to seek ways to deal with the problem.

**Wanted: A New City for a Million Citizens Every Year**

Under this sensational headline, AL-MUSAWWAR reports in its edition of 16 May 1980 on an academic seminar sponsored by the Development and technological Planning Center at Cairo University. Among the participants in the 3-hour seminar were brother engineer Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, the minister of reconstruction, housing and land reclamation, and a number of our honorable scholars in planning, management and research.

Discussing one of the causes of the housing problem, the brother minister says: "The problems of population growth are increasing at a high rate in Egypt. The population of Egypt has doubled in less than 40 years, at an annual rate of growth of 2.5 percent. This represents a heavy burden that weighs down on any development projects. Egypt still lives on 4 percent of its total area, that is about 40,000 square kilometers out of a total area of some one million square kilometers. Despite all those interrelated and complicated problems which are due in part to the neglect of efforts to expand the size of urban development and promote the expansion of population

centers for a long period of time, and in part to the behavioral pattern of the Egyptians who cling to their customs and traditions despite the intensity of the population problem--despite all those problems, 96 percent of the land of Egypt is not entirely useless desert. There are many areas in Egypt's eastern and western deserts which are rich with vast natural resources that can be immediately exploited, and this is what the state is seeking to do now."

The minister goes on to say: "The development plan is targeted on 5 development areas in which studies have begun. These studies have now concluded that priority should be given to projects of development and natural exploitation in areas that are considered to be potentially attractive population centers. The other line of action is to move toward the establishment of new cities. The ministry is now engaged in planning and implementing that line of action parallel with the other line. The minister concluded that the problem of housing can only be solved through searching for and finding new areas where the natural resources can be developed and exploited and to which new populations can be drawn in accordance with a plan of two parallel lines."

Dr Subhi 'Abd al-Hakim, the Vice President of Cairo University, added that a new strategy should be drawn up to develop the existing cities and towns in Egypt, and to bring them up to the level of the new cities where housing and employment opportunities are available. This way it would be possible to distribute the population in Egypt in accordance with available natural resources and urban development plans. Therefore, the type of new cities planned for desert areas should have all the sound means of housing and construction, because it is the area which creates the city and not the other way round.

Having faithfully summed up the most important points raised in the seminar, we would like to say that we appreciate the continuous efforts exerted by minister Hasaballah al-Kafrawi for the sake of building cities and solving the housing problem. We agree with the views of all the participants in the seminar. We may not be exaggerating when we say that we had fully analyzed all the points mentioned by them in the serialized reports on our "Study About the Population Problem" which are still being published by AL-SHA'B. We also believe that the solutions proposed at the seminar are all sound, but we wish to ask: What is the means of implementing those important theoretical solutions that have been proposed at the seminar and how is it possible to build new cities that can absorb one million citizens per year, as the sensational headline of the AL-MUSAWWAR article put it? Can our limited material capabilities enable us to do so, and can we simply find lands that are suitable for the establishment of those cities and supplying them with utilities? Perhaps what is desired and hoped for is something and what is possible is something else. In fact, it is entirely impossible to achieve all that, unless we had a miracle from heaven. Unfortunately, the age of miracles is long past and we have no other choice but to examine reality without exaggeration and without adding to the suffering of those who are living in the sheer hell of the problem.

In our detailed study, we have examined the problem of lands and new cities in articles which were published in previous editions of this paper. We followed our analyses with solutions which we consider to be realistic, serious and constructive. We believe that without those solutions, the likes of such academic seminars will be useless, except as a means to providing an opportunity for longer debates and discussions which would be fruitless and not worth the long hours expended on them. The man in the street will continue to ask himself: Can we really solve the crisis by building a new city for a million people every year? How and with what means? This is, by God, impossibility itself.

#### Can House Rents Be Lowered?

Under this headline, AL-SIYASI of 15 June 1980 published an inquiry into the housing crisis. Said the paper: "The housing crisis is the talk of the town today and every day. The prices are constantly rising. Young people are desperately searching for just a room to begin their careers and lives in it. And despite the expansions carried out by the state in the desert, rising prices seem to be like a long-playing movie. Is there no outlet from all this?"

To look for that outlet, AL-SIYASI canvassed the views of young people to find a starting point along a difficult route and to search for an answer to a more difficult question. Is it possible to lower house rents and apartment prices in the general climate of lower prices which engulfs the country nowadays? The newspaper interviewed several people involved in this field, including contractors, landowners, brokers, apartment building owners and tenants. The interviews focused on the statements of those who explained the difficult circumstances in which building and construction are being carried out nowadays. These include the lack of the necessary technical labor, the high cost of such labor, the problem of land availability, the high cost of construction materials, the unavoidability of having to buy such materials on the black market most of the time and other factors which clearly show that the problem has completely deteriorated and that it is impossible for persons with limited incomes to find housing because of high rents and because those persons do not have the means to pay the required key money.

The points raised in the newspaper's inquiry are known to all of us, but the most important point which the inquiry raised was a remark made by the owner of an apartment building. He said: "The owner of an apartment building is not guilty. The contractor sets the price and I pay. And because I have children, I did not forsake any apartment in the building which I put up. I paid 50,000 pounds to the contractor. If I want to rent it, of course I will try to regain this sum and more.

Concluding its inquiry, the newspaper said: The truth is lost between contractors, building owners and land-zoning companies. Several housing laws have not succeeded in solving the problem thus far. It is apparent from all this that the hope of lowering apartment rents and prices requires hard work. This means that the state has to address the housing sector as it



addresses the prices of basic goods. The house is no less important than the loaf of bread, for it is man's shelter where he lives, eats and dresses up.

This was the content of the inquiry. While we thank those who have conducted that valuable inquiry into an important aspect of the housing problem, we wish to emphasize, however, that the truth is not lost, as the inquiry concluded. The truth is that housing, as any commodity, is subject to the law of supply and demand. If a commodity is available abundantly, it would be easy to obtain it for proper prices and vice versa.

The housing crisis began to emerge about a quarter of a century ago and proceeded to deteriorate year after year for many reasons, primarily the lack of planning during that period of time plus the essential social changes which occurred in the life of the people. Many other factors and present shortcomings have helped to push the crisis to a dead-end road. One of these is the serious phenomenon of leaving buildings empty as a means to securing the biggest possible profit, either by changing the licensing designation from rent to condominium, or by getting the right key money or leaving the building empty in the name of the children, whether they be adults or minors, although the owners had received materials at government-supported prices and low cost. This situation will never alleviate the problem but will exacerbate it. In such a situation, there is no hope for persons of limited incomes that rents will come down or that they will find a suitable apartment. Therefore, the only solution—one which we have always advocated—is for the government to support economy housing and part of the medium-range housing, as it is doing in terms of supporting essential food materials, and to undertake the building of that kind of housing to help persons of limited incomes to find housing at a cost they can afford, because the house is no less important than the loaf of bread.

Winding up this review of our press, we re-emphasize that our problem cannot tolerate slogans and sensational statements inasmuch as it requires scientific discussion accompanied by a sincere and determined desire to work hard. This should be coupled by an effort to keep a periodic check on our achievements under the plan designed by the NHC which is the highest scientific and specialized reference in our country.

We ask God to grant us success and to grant our Egypt prosperity and love. We look forward to meeting you again in another part of our study of the housing problem, God willing.

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## DETERIORATION OF FRUIT FARMING ACKNOWLEDGED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 19 May 80 p 7

[Article: "Ministry of Agriculture Accused of Failure to Guide Peasants"]

[Text] Dr Mahmud Daud, the minister of agriculture, has admitted that fruit farming in Egypt has deteriorated with the results that output is down and prices are up. This, he conceded, has placed heavy burdens on the consumers.

The minister added: "The country as a whole has been neglected for a long time. The proof is that anyone who used to own a garden or a grove is now abandoning the idea of having one in order to escape the various state fees." For 20 years, he said, there has not been any effort to protect and maintain gardens and groves.

Ahmad Qasim, who had questioned the minister, rejected the minister's claims, saying that the deficiency in the citrus crop reached 50 percent, as evidenced by the fact that citrus exports last year dropped from 230,000 tons to 100,000 tons. The member of the People's Assembly added: "The major reason for that is the wrong pricing policy pertaining to citrus products." He said that the ministries of supply and economy determine pricing policy without giving any consideration to the real cost of production and without caring about the well-being of the Egyptian economy. This is in addition to the failure of the ministry of agriculture to provide guidelines and advice which would enable the peasants and farmers to protect and treat the fruit crop, as well as the high cost of pesticides and immunization.

The member of the People's Assembly said that most kinds of fruits have almost become extinct, such as grapes, lemons and mango.

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## LAWYERS SUE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, DEAN OF BAR ASSOCIATION

## Lawsuit Explained

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 26 May 80 p 1

[Article by Ihsan 'Abd al-Maqsud: "Fikri Makram 'Ubayd In Court to Answer Charges of Breach of Promises to Lawyers After the Election of Al-Khawajah"]

[Text] The 'Abdin Plenary Court will convene Thursday morning to hear the lawsuit brought against Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Secretary of the Permanent Council of the National Democratic Party (NDP), and Ahmad al-Khawajah, the dean of the bar association. The lawsuit was brought by lawyer Amin Safwat who is filing for compensation for losses he and 3,000 other lawyers in the public sector have incurred as a result of unfulfilled promises by the deputy prime minister. He also asked that Mustafa Kamil Murad be (subpoenaed) in his capacity as the chairman of the board of directors of the newspaper AL-AHRAR and that he be asked to have his newspaper continue its campaign to unveil partisan aberrations.

In his petition, Amin Safwat said that Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, in an effort to persuade lawyers working in the public sector to support the NDP's unofficial candidate for the position of dean of the bar association, held a number of seminars and panel discussions in which he and the former minister of justice, counselor Ahmad Musa, pledged to submit to the People's Assembly a bill that would realize equality in promotions, annual salary increases and salaries between lawyers in the public sector and their colleagues in the Government Cases Administration. The bill in question would be something of a financial and compensatory system for those public lawyers which would relieve them of the deception of wayward company presidents and assure them of independence so that they would be subject in their work only to their conscience and duty.

The petition of the lawyers went on to say that on 25 July, AL-AKHBAR published a categorical statement in which Fikri Makram 'Ubayd announced that the People's Assembly will debate the project immediately after the 'Id al-Fitr holiday. On 30 July, AL-AHRAR published on an entire page, and AL-JUMHURIYAH published on its front page, statements by the deputy prime minister and his legal adviser in which they affirmed that the promised hope will be realized soon and spelled out details of the bill which were welcomed by lawyers. The deputy prime minister, however, backed down after having reassured lawyers during the elections campaign that he guarantees the issuance

of the law, and after having explained to the lawyers that he has two capacities, that of deputy prime minister and that of secretary general of the party, and that in these two capacities he will work for sure to push the bill through as the party has promised and pledged to do.

The petition also referred to Ahmad al-Khawajah, the dean of the bar association, saying that he has taken an obstructive position to prevent the issuance of the law so that the issue may be used again as a trump card in the next elections.

The petition went on to say that the newspaper AL-AHRAR on 3 September reported on a major scandal under the heading of "The Party That Laughed at the Lawyers." It is this article which made us seek to call AL-AHRAR as a witness, the petition said, and to call on it to continue its campaign to unmask that partisan deviation.

Lawyer Amin Safwat said in the conclusion of his petition: "Since most companies have completely suspended promotions for lawyers under the pretext that a special law for lawyers is about to be issued and since the behavior of the first and second defendants (Fikri Makram 'Ubayd and Ahmad al-Khawajah, the dean of lawyers) is not in keeping with their party and unionist commitments, it is incumbent upon the courts to order them to pay compensation for the definite material and moral damage which has befallen all lawyers and the claimant, as one of the lawyers. Therefore, the claimant (lawyer Amin Safwat) petitions that they be obligated by the court to pay him jointly the sum of 51 pounds (sic) as temporary compensation and expenses."

#### Case Postponed

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] The 'Abdin court has postponed until 12 June the hearing of the lawsuit brought against Fikri Makram 'Ubayd for breach of promises he made to lawyers. 'Atif al-Jawhari, 'Ubayd's defense attorney, asked that the case against his client be dismissed. He said that the lawsuit was brought against the defendant in his capacity as secretary general of the National Democratic Party, but that his client no longer holds this position following the reorganization of the state apparatus. He has now become the chairman of the permanent council of the party and not its secretary general. The court dismissed the plea of the defense and decided to defer the hearings until the plaintiff, lawyer Amin Safwat, changes the designation of Fikri Makram 'Ubayd to that of chairman of the permanent council of the National Democratic Party. The court authorized the plaintiff to include any number of co-plaintiffs he wishes.

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CSO: 4802

## PROMOTION OF MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE SUPPORTED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 26 May 80 p 2

[Article by Mahmud Fawzi: "Mechanized Agriculture--Why Has It Failed in the Countryside? Can 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman Do What the Agriculture Ministry Has Failed To Do?"]

[Text] The National Democratic Party's Popular Development Committee chaired by engineer 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman has decided to set up a national company of service stations to promote mechanized agriculture.

AL-AHRAR wholeheartedly encourages that project and wishes it success because the condition of mechanized agriculture in the countryside nowadays is one of the major obstacles holding up the growth of agricultural production and the intensification of agricultural projects. The success of the project in question will lead to the following:

1. It will increase agricultural production by means of performing agricultural operations and services with high efficiency and in a short period of time.
2. It will cope with the large increase in the wages of agricultural workers. The increase in wages has reached a point where it impacted on the income of peasants from agricultural production. It should be noted that there is a big shortage in agricultural workers and that their efficiency is deficient for several reasons.
3. Free a large percentage of livestock so that peasants can use them for meat and milk. Machinery would decrease the need to use animals in farming which in turn would increase the availability of meat and milk.
4. Free large areas of alfalfa fields which were used by farming animals. These fields can thus be used to raise food security crops.
5. It would introduce modern technology into agriculture. Modern technology depends a lot on mechanized agriculture.
6. It would increase agricultural intensification by carrying out agricultural operations in a short time so that the land can be utilized to the



maximum degree. For example, agricultural intensification in Egypt is about 180 percent while it reaches 300 percent in many other countries. We are in great need of such increased intensification.

7. It would cut down the expenses of agricultural operations which in turn would result in increasing the income of the farmer.

8. It would cut down the size of loss in crops, especially those crops which require threshing by hand or with the help of an animal. As a result of such threshing, a good deal of these crops is lost.

To insure that mechanized agriculture would succeed in the countryside, we should take into our account the reasons for the failure of many mechanized agricultural projects so that we may not fall into the same pitfalls again. Some examples:

1. The government mechanical stations. These were the basis of the kolkhoz in Russia. The government had established stations for M.T.S. equipment--motors and tractors--which were renting various equipment and tools to the various kolkhozes in return for a nominal payment in kind from the produce. This system has failed for many considerations which have been discussed by Leberman. Primary among these is the fact that farms failed to take care of the equipment since they belonged to the government and not to them. The misuse of such equipment did not, therefore, bother the farms.

2. Agricultural equipment companies dealing with the peasants through coops.

3. Agricultural coops. Mechanized agriculture failed in these coops, saddling them with losses of 3 million pounds. More important, the tractors and equipment in those coops did not perform their role in serving and increasing production, for many reasons which include the following:

a. Many members of the boards of directors of the coops owned or co-owned tractors and irrigation machinery (although this is forbidden by law). It was in their interest, therefore, to disable the coop's tractors and machinery so that they can force the coop to use their own tractors and equipment at a cost which profited those members. The members who did not own tractors and equipment were not interested in keeping an eye on the condition of the coop's equipment since there was no material profit for them to do so.

b. The tractor driver in the coop received a fixed salary. Therefore, he sought to:

(i) try to put the coop's tractor out of order so that he may work for one of the private tractor owners for another wage, since his wage from the coop is guaranteed.

(ii) till a feddan for a certain farmer, for example, but agree with the farmer to say that only 8 kerats were tilled. This way, the tractor driver and the farmer would split the difference.

(iii) tamper with the tractor's odometer, if one exists, by using such methods as magnet, pin, etc.

c. If a tractor needed repair work, that work would go astray between the coop, the bank and the ministry of agriculture. I recall that a tractor in the governorate of Al-Jizah was sent to the workshops of the ministry of agriculture for repair work that should have cost 15 pounds only. The tractor remained in the workshop for three years and ran a repair bill of 300 pounds. The bank controls every single expenditure by the coop as if it is the owner of the coop's funds.

d. Equipment and machinery coops. This type of coops has scored a great success in spreading mechanized farming in a sound manner. Take Algeria, for example (I worked there as a United Nations expert on agricultural co-operatives). In Algeria, village coops and farmers formed specialized coops for farming equipment and machinery. The size of the areas which these coops served depended on many considerations, primarily the kind of crops, the kind of equipment needed to farm those areas, the space required for the economic use of the machinery, access roads and other considerations. The specialized coop has a number of machines which are adequate for the area they are supposed to service. There is also a workshop for quick repairs and for annual checkups and repair work, in addition to mobile repair units. All machinery and equipment are owned by the specialized coop. If one village coop is not using a piece of equipment, that piece is loaned to another coop in the interest of the economic and effective use of equipment.

The board of directors determines the operational schedule. It is made up of secretaries of all the village coops, all of which constitute a general system. The board runs the specialized coops, and the staffers of the coop's board have to implement the decisions of the board and cannot interfere in the decisions that are taken. They can, however, raise questions before the board as a whole.

e. The success of cooperation and incentives. An experiment to organize mechanized farming began in 10 coops in the Qalyub district, including such localities as Sandyun, Tinan, Qaha and others. The experiment began in 1971 when a member of the board of directors was assigned to each single tractor in the coop and required to implement the schedule of service fully in return for 5 percent of the tractor's daily intake plus expenses. The member would collect his money on a daily basis. Each feddan that runs over the average in terms of service gives the tractor driver an additional 10 piasters. In 1970, the Sandyun coop, for example, lost 1,179 pounds in tractor operations. But after the application of the above system, tractor operations chalked up profits of 3,500 pounds. When a tractor developed trouble, the member of the board of directors responsible for it would have it repaired in a day because the tractor became a source of income and livelihood for him. The average daily intake of a member of the board of directors was one pound.

AL-AHRAR is confident that the mechanized farming project will be successful, God willing, as long as it is headed by engineer 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman because he is a serious, practical and sincere man. Most of the credit for the

bridges and large installations which are the pride of Egypt goes to him. These installations and bridges demonstrate his ability to implement projects. Most important, however, is that this project is not a profit-seeking enterprise, but one designed for service and benefit. This is the essential difference. When the general coop entered the field of mechanized agriculture its basic function and aim was to make a material profit. Therefore, its function did not go beyond taking a certain percentage from the revenues of tractors assigned to individuals and other coops. But the coop had nothing to do with delivery of the tractors nor did it concern itself with any part of the operations. Furthermore, it did not organize the mechanical farming operations and services in the countryside so as to improve them.

Egypt's countryside and peasants are in dire need of a serious and practical project of mechanical farming and all the organizing, implementation, repair and maintenance work that go with it, so that the project can provide agricultural services by mechanical means that are better, more effective, faster and cheaper than conventional methods. This way, agricultural production can be improved and its cost can be decreased. Any means to achieve this is a sound one. Cooperation is a means not an end, the village bank is a means not an end, and companies are a means not an end. A project owner has to select the means that is sound and practical and that can spread the use of mechanized farming at the right cost and the right time. This is what we need badly.

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## COMMUNIST ELEMENTS OBSTRUCT WORK OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 26 May 80 p 7

[Article by Hilmi Salim: "Secretariat General of the Socialist Liberal Party Warns: Communist Elements in the Government Obstructing Resolution of People's Problems"]

[Text] At its annual meeting under the chairmanship of party leader Mustafa Kamal Murad, the general secretariat of the Socialist Liberal Party emphasized that the criterion by which any policy should be measured is the end result of that policy as felt by the masses. It said that the success of the government depends on the extent of its efforts to lower the prices of goods and services.

The secretariat pointed out that the Liberal party has preceded the government in perceiving the need to adopt a presidential system and the system of sectors in the cabinet; increase the powers and jurisdictions of local government, improve the situation in the public sector by establishing (control) companies; and delegate to the lower echelons of government authority to decide issues in matters pertaining to production and services in order to insure the speedy performance of such matters and make sure that the proper decision is made at the proper time.

## Transfer of Powers

The general secretariat of the Liberal party held its annual meeting last Tuesday under the chairmanship of party leader Mustafa Kamal Murad. President Anwar al-Sadat's meeting with the ministers and governors was reviewed at that meeting. The secretariat expressed its satisfaction with the decision to transfer ministerial powers to the local administration. This is because such a measure would fulfill the desires and needs of the citizens, insure speed in making the right decisions, and help the citizens in solving their daily problems and improving the standard of services that are provided to the public. This is the criterion by which success of the government can be measured, because the majority of the people do not look at political details but are interested in whether a policy translates itself into prosperity and well-being for the citizens.

The party leader explained that the problem is that powers are concentrated in the hands of the higher and upper authorities. He said that those powers should filter down to the lowest levels so that things can be managed and dealt with quickly, instead of having things pile up in the offices of cabinet ministers, thereby retarding the ability to cope with the fast pace of life. He also emphasized that the concentration of power and the need to refer all things to the higher authorities tend to be obstructive and disruptive, which has a negative effect on services for the people. This requires a comprehensive reconsideration of the powers of government.

#### Guidebook on Ministerial Functions

Maj Gen Salah al-Rifa'i, deputy leader of the party, stressed that it is necessary that laws and decisions implementing them should be clear to those who are responsible for carrying them out. Since the masses of the people do not often understand the jurisdictions and functions of the various ministries, it is necessary to print all this information in a book. This book would be a guide to the functions and jurisdictions of the ministries, and would thus enable people to know where to go and what to do to conduct their business. It is also necessary, the deputy party leader said, that administrative bylaws and regulations be clear when they are implemented.

Maj Gen al-Rifa'i warned that there are communist and leftist elements in the government machinery who are impeding progress, because they do not believe in the present policies, and because they want to show that the government is incapable of solving the people's problems and fulfilling the people's aspirations. Al-Rifa'i added: "The government should exert maximum efforts to alleviate the burdens of the citizens, so that the people would feel that their government is successful in its efforts to provide the basic needs of the people and to offer an appropriate degree of services in a manner that would fulfill the people's hopes about their government."

#### Where Is Sound Planning?

Muhammad Murad al-Sabatasi, secretary general of the party, wondered if there is any sound planning in Egypt. He concluded that there is no such planning, saying that things in Egypt are running in an abnormal fashion. He cited, as an example, the fact that agriculture in Egypt is still not getting its fair share in the government's policies, although it is the mainstay of the Egyptian economy. He demanded that agricultural companies should be set up so that services can be mechanized. This, he said, would increase animal wealth by 20 percent as well as increase agricultural production. He also stressed the need to strengthen the river transportation system, especially since most of the populated areas in Egypt are along the Nile.

Al-Sabatasi added: "I am offering this as a counter-example to the kind of planning which looks good on paper but which is detached from the realities of life in Egypt..." [sentence incomplete due to printing error which dropped a line from the page].



## Dividing Up Egypt

Maj Gen 'Uthman Adwan, member of the political bureau, advocated that Egypt be divided into only 6 provinces so that each province may have enough land to enable it to undertake and carry out various activities and projects. This would also enable the provinces to take advantage of greater manpower resources to fulfill their various policies. He said that this division is especially appropriate, because it would increase the size of natural resources in each province, thereby bettering its ability to solve its problems. He proposed that all taxes go to the province.

Maj Gen 'Uthman said that he favors that cabinet meetings be held on a weekly basis so as to keep up with new developments. He called for the abolition of ministerial committees, because their functions are unnecessary, in the sense that the operation of the executive branch is an integrated and indivisible one which cannot be apportioned. Thus, the cabinet would operate as an integrated, interrelated unit.

## The Party's Viewpoint

Ilfat Kamel, (deputy secretary general of the party) and member of the People's Assembly, talked about the need to step up party activities among the masses so that the people become more familiar with the party's viewpoint and its demands of the new government. She called for a quick plan of action to achieve that objective, and said that she will deliver a working paper on that subject at the joint meeting of the political bureau and the heads of party branches in the governorates. She said that the plan would also call for restructuring the economy and amending all the economic laws pertaining to the economic structure, so that it would be possible to set down a host of laws that would help build the new state and reorganize the various areas of production and services.

## Select the Governors

Maj Gen 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Sabki, member of the general secretariat, said that to equalize opportunities for the governorates and to provide the political parties with an opportunity to carry out their activities in the governorates, he proposes the following:

1. The Consultative Council should be made up of two representatives of the various groups and two representatives of the workers in each governorate. Elections should be held on the basis of a party ticket. A party that fails to receive 5 percent of the total votes will not receive any seats on the council.

2. In view of the fact that the governor is a politically responsible official, according to one of the president's speeches, a governor should be elected, so that the political parties may have an opportunity to operate in the governorates.

3. The president shall appoint the remaining third of the Consultative Council from experienced men who are members of the various parties or independent.

## DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ACKNOWLEDGES LACK OF CONTROL OVER FUNDS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "Deputy Prime Minister Looks Into Where Budget Funds Go"]

[Text] Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd al-Majid, the Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs, has admitted that there does not exist a government apparatus to supervise disbursement of development plan appropriations. This year, these amounted to more than 3,000 million pounds. He said that the allocations were being shifted from one project to another without the knowledge of the cabinet. Indeed, the ministry of planning did not know what the development projects were.

The deputy prime minister emphasized that the economic problem cannot be solved by raising prices or taking care of the deficit in the budget, but we should find out where the budget funds are going.

Speaking at a meeting of the planning and economy committees at the People's Assembly, the deputy prime minister announced that all the information he has received from the various ministries when he was in charge of the planning ministry for 3 years was erroneous information. He said that he regrets that Egypt does not have an apparatus to follow up the use of public funds and to make sure that those funds are being spent soundly, especially the public sector funds which amount to 3,100 million pounds.

Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq, 'Abd al-Majid said that a number of projects listed in the development plan some 16 years ago have not been implemented until now. He cited, as an example, the al-Mansurah Hospital which had been listed in the budget of 1964 but remains uncompleted. Another hospital, the Asyut hospital, was entered in the general budget 10 years ago, but is still unimplemented. The deputy prime minister said that "there are 6,000 million pounds in foreign loans on which interest is being paid. But we do not utilize those loans, because the specific projects for which these loans were obtained were not listed in the budget."

He added that "foreign banks have become a problem, because each bank operates in its own manner, and we do not know anything about them. The aim behind allowing these banks to operate in Egypt was that they would serve

Egypt and the Egyptian economy. But what is happening is the opposite of that. Those banks transfer their money out of the country, and we do not benefit from their funds."

The deputy prime minister admitted that economic policy in Egypt is carried out in an erroneous manner. In previous cabinets, he said, we tried to change the economic course of the country but our efforts were insufficient, and I share in the responsibility. He said that economic policy is in need of a radical revamping in the public sector, the banking system and foreign trade.

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## GOVERNMENT PROVIDES INSUFFICIENT AMOUNTS OF FERTILIZER TO FARMERS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by Engineer Mahmud Fawzi: "Shortage of Fertilizers Behind High Prices; Ministry of Agriculture Makes Completely Unrealistic Decisions on Fertilizers"]

[Text] The prices of food materials are constantly rising. Corn prices have reached 23 pounds per ardeb. Vegetable prices have more than doubled since last year. The prices of fruits are constantly rising. No doubt, there are many factors behind the increase in prices, and all of them boil down to the economic law that cannot be ignored or circumvented--the law of supply and demand. The price of any commodity that is in tight supply will go up and vice versa. When production of a commodity increases without a parallel increase in demand, prices will go down.

The averages of agricultural production in Egypt are far less than the averages that can be achieved. The production slack is due to a very important factor, namely, fertilizers. The majority of agricultural products in Egypt do not get enough fertilizers. This makes their production below average, thereby pushing their prices up.

For example, 'Abd al-Hamid Malash, a vegetables and crop farmer in Sandayun in the governorate of Al-Qalyubiyah, says that the fertilizers appropriated by the ministry of agriculture for vegetables are less than half the real needs. As a result, the yield falls short of the expected average and prices go up. Take corn, for example. The ministry of agriculture allocates 62 azute units to 400 kgs of fertilizers per feddan (15.5 percent). Last year, the average yield per feddan in his fields was 15 standard ardebs of corn. To get the same yield this year, he had to use 3 times the amount of azute allocated by the ministry of agriculture, that is about 190 units of azute. He had to buy the difference on the black market at 8.5 pounds per (yurba). The official price is 195 piasters.

He also bought Egyptian lime for 3.5 pounds per (shikarah) on the black market. The official price of that commodity is 195 piasters. 'Abd al-Hamid Malash says that doubling the amount of fertilizers appropriated by the ministry of agriculture would double the production of vegetables.

'Abd al-Husayn al-Samayh, a Sandayun peasant, adds that the fertilizer allocations are not adequate. He raises eggplants, tomatoes and peppers. If he had to depend on the fertilizer quantities allocated by the ministry of agriculture, he said, his production will be too low. He uses, for example, 20 (shikaraha) of fertilizers for his eggplants, when the ministry of agriculture allocates only 12 (shikaraha). The same applies to the other vegetables. He has to buy the additional fertilizers on the black market at double the price. He says that buying additional fertilizers beyond the quantities appropriated by the ministry of agriculture would double production which justifies the extra price he pays on the black market.

Farmer Fathi al-Sayyid, Wasaf, of Al-Kawadi in the district of Ashmun, raises potatoes and vegetables. He says that the ministry of agriculture allocates 7 (shikaraha) of fertilizers and 11.5 percent of nitrates per feddan of potatoes. He uses 20-25 (shikaraha). Instead of 2 (shikaraha) of superphosphate, which the ministry of agriculture allocates, he uses 10-15 (shikaraha). This way he is able to increase the yield of potatoes per feddan to 5 to 6 tons, using government fertilizers, or 8 to 10 tons, using additional fertilizers. He spends an average of 30 pounds per month for extra fertilizers per feddan of potatoes, but he averages an additional income of 300 pounds from his potato production.

As for tomatoes, he receives 6 (shikaraha) of nitrates with local fertilizers from the government. This would yield about 7 tons per feddan. When he uses 17 to 20 (shikaraha) of nitrates, he gets about 20 tons of tomatoes--an increase of some 12 tons, which means an additional income of 840 pounds. He says that the ministry of agriculture should observe the real needs for fertilizers and fulfill them so as to enable farmers to increase production, eliminate the black market and lower prices.

Farmer Sami Jirjis Tadros, of Manshat Ghali in the (Hihya) sub-district, the governorate of Al-Sharqiyah, says that the fertilizers appropriated by the ministry of agriculture represent less than half the real needs of farmers. He adds that there are many peasants who cannot afford to use more fertilizers because they cannot afford to pay the exorbitant black market prices. For example, as a result of the shortage in the corn fertilizers, the price of corn per ardeb in the village has risen to 25 pounds per ardeb and the rent of a feddan of high quality corn has reached 120 pounds.

In the village of Sandayun in the governorate of Al-Qalyubiyah, the produce of onion (laden on cotton) has reached 100 kantars for (single reed) and 150 kantars for (double reed), with good fertilization and proper care. Some farmers have sold onions, including the twig, at 215 piasters per kantar. That is to say that the intake of a feddan of onions (laden on cotton) ranges from 215 to 320 pounds, aside from the price of the cotton. This would increase the production of onion, thereby bringing its price down, which is what the state is trying to do now.

Muruk Hasan 'Ali of the Mahjub farm in Al-Minya favors this idea. He raises mellons, saying that the ministry of agriculture allocates only 3 (shikaras) of saline fertilizers, 15.5 percent, per feddan of mellons. He needs at least 6 (shikaraha) which he has to buy on the black market at exorbitant



prices. He also needs 60 ardebs of pigeon manure, at 7 pounds per ardeb delivered.

Another farmer who raises melons, Makrum Muhammad Husayn Rizq of Daght al-Khammar says that the amount of saline fertilizers which the ministry of agriculture allocates for one feddan of melons, 3 (shikarabs), is not enough to raise any melons. He says that he has to buy at least 3 addition (shikarabs) from traders in the black market at double the price. He said that the lack of adequate amounts of fertilizers this year has produced a poor quality of melons in Al-Minya. He notes that if the melon runners find no fertilizer in the ground, they will feed off the melon itself. Therefore, a great percentage of melons raised in Al-Minya are empty inside.

We sounded out a number of agricultural specialists and they told us that the appropriation of 60 units of azote for corn is completely insufficient, and that at least 30 units of fertilizers should be allocated for corn. Additional amounts of fertilizers should be used for raising the new American hybrid corn (Burner), so that it can reach its maximum yield, which is an average of 24 ardebs. Our inquiries in the villages, coops and village banks show that only 62.5 units of azote are allocated for corn and that there is no additional allocations for hybrid or any other kind of corn.

To keep quiet about the question of the insufficiency of fertilizers would be a serious matter, because it affects agricultural production and food security. The ministry of agriculture should revise its quotas of fertilizers in a manner that would insure the highest possible levels of production, so that supply would rise and prices would drop, especially in regard to vegetables, fruits, corn and other crops. This would also prevent the existence of a black market. We are in an age of full candor. The president, who is also the prime minister, would not hesitate to allocate adequate amounts of fertilizers for agricultural production, especially since the United States Agency for International Development has as one of its priorities the policy of providing fertilizers to other countries to increase the production of food in the world.

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## STATE LANDS USURPED DUE TO GOVERNMENT NEGLECT

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by Thana' Jum'ah: "A Free-for-all to Usurp State-Owned Lands"]

[Text] Encroachment upon and usurpation of state-owned lands have become a general and recurring phenomenon because of lax supervision and protection and remissness in eliminating encroachments due to the lack of adequate forces. The slowness of the competent authorities in taking legal action against usurpers due to shortage of personnel in the pertinent agencies is encouraging trespassers and encroachers to persist in their usurpation of state-owned lands.

Strangely enough, the financial administration in the governorate of Cairo is responsible for safeguarding state property and funds, but it does the opposite of that. It issues receipts to usurpers against any sum of money they pay to the treasury. On the strength of these receipts, the usurper turns into a tenant protected by law and recognized by the state.

The Railroad Authority went even further and offered lands on both sides of the Hilwan railroad line for rent at reduced prices that are quite lower than the rates set by the Cairo governorate's financial administration. The train conductors collect the monthly rents of those lands from the usurpers.

## Usurpation Is Better

If it happens that the encroachments were eliminated, the land in question remains unattended and unguarded and without a fence around it--in other words, waiting for a new usurper who would be encouraged by the state. Citizens who petition to buy a piece of state-owned property at the price set by the board of a governorate or by the ministry of religious endowments or the Nasir Social Bank, are faced by the rejection of their applications, and they find it better as a result to usurp the land legally by paying a few millims to the governorate's financial administration or to the railroads authority.

The encroachments have been taking several forms, primarily usurping the land by squatting on it and acquiring it or renting a certain plot of state-owned land then encroaching upon a wider area.

## And the Public Sector

The encroachments are conducted through the building of shacks or small huts. There are also encroachments on the popular housing units in 'Ayn al-Sirah and al-Abajiyah, where usurpers take over extensions close to porches. Beyond that there are encroachments that involve homes for the needy, kiosks, plants and large buildings such as the building of Jalal Abu Al-'ula near Mashraah.

In the sub-division of al-Khalifah, large areas of land have been arrogated through the Arab Contractors Company on al-Fustat Street, the al-Jimhuriyah Company, Salem Siddiq Thabet Shakhilul and Sona and Kamal al-Tahawi on al-Fustat Street. The area of the lands that these people have taken over in this area comes to 38,000 square meters.

In the old Cairo section, there are encroachments by Faraq 'Abd al-Wahad, Rafiq Nasr, Faruq Muhammad Abu al-Sa'ud, Yusuf Ibrahim al-Laythi, Mustafa Husayn, Fathi Muhammad, Majdi Hasan 'Allam, 'Isam al-Sayyed Hasan, Muhammad 'Abd al-Hafiz and Husayn 'Abd al-Hafiz. This, in addition to the infringements of 'Ashur 'Ali Sa'd and (Art Gunther Kfeishah) on Zaynhum Street as well as the encroachments perpetrated by public sector companies. The encroachments made by the Arab Contractors Company in the Batn al-Baqarah area in al-Fustat involve an area of 70,000 square meters.

Rabi' al-Shaykh, Director of the Properties Administration in southern Cairo, says: Law No 59 of 1959 has given the administrative authorities the right to put an end to encroachments upon state-owned lands. He says that when he is notified of an encroachment, he sends a signal to the competent police precinct which solicits a written pledge from the usurper to cease all encroachment activities. The encroacher, however, decides instead to complete his construction work very quickly and fill his property with people. Yet the authorities would go ahead and issue an order to eliminate the encroachment, but after that has been done the encroacher goes back and builds again.

## Amending the Law

Ahmad Salit, former chief of the southern Cairo area, says that there are no penalties against encroachers upon state-owned properties. There are usurped lands where buildings up to 5 floors have gone up. A study is being prepared, he said, to confiscate those buildings and pay some kind of compensation to their owners. After that the buildings would be handled by the local authority would also collect the rent. This kind of action is being taken against 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Manzilawi and Muhammad al-Sayyed 'Abd al-Ra'uf whose cases are still pending in court. He added that at present there are encroachments in such areas as Qal'at al-Kabsh, Sur al-'Uyun and 'Ayn al-Sirah. When the utilities police try to remove the encroachment, they are sometimes physically attacked and shot at, as what happened in the case of al-Manzilawi. The present law should be amended so that a large fine and a penalty are prescribed for encroachments upon state-owned lands. In the area of southern Cairo alone, there have been 300 cases of encroachment. There are also many encroachments in the al-Madabigh area.

Strangely enough, the former chief of the southern Cairo area says that he has received requests from some politically responsible people asking that elimination and removal operations be postponed or warning him against going near the al-Madabigh area so as to avoid a tragedy.

Sami 'Ata Muhammad, chairman of the followup committee of southern Cairo's popular council, believes that the question of encroachments is due to negligence by housing officials in keeping an eye on state-owned land, and to the fact that those who are building on usurped lands are not ordinary people but powerful personalities who put up buildings and rent them.

Sayyed Khalil, chairman of the complaints and suggestions committee in the popular council of southern Cairo, says that the law empowers area chiefs to remove encroachments immediately. An area chief is required to prepare a program for the elimination of encroachments and to oversee the implementation of that program because he is primarily responsible. He said that encroachments should be dealt with immediately so that we may be able to eradicate this phenomenon altogether.

#### Recommendations and Decisions

The local council in southern Cairo has met to discuss this phenomenon and adopted several resolutions at the end of the meeting. They include the following:

1. With respect to the al-Madabigh area in old Cairo, the governorate should be advised to take urgent measures to set up an industrial city for hide tanning outside populated areas.
2. With respect to the housing buildings established on state-owned lands for several years in return for services rendered, they should be sold at current prices and considered permanent buildings that do not conflict with zoning plans. The owners of such buildings shall have priority in bidding on them.
3. With regard to the encroachments upon the popular housing complexes in 'Ayn al-Sirah and elsewhere, they should be surveyed and the tenants should be warned to remove the extensions and other means of encroachment. If there is no response by the end of the period of warning, removal should be administered or the houses should be vacated in accordance with the law.
4. The People's Assembly should make the usurpation of land legally punishable by issuing a law considering the usurpation of state-owned lands an arrogation of public money and property, hence a crime punishable by law.
5. An encroacher upon state-owned lands should be required to pay the estimated costs of the elimination of the encroachment.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS DEFINED AS FREEDOM FROM GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by Mumtaz Nassar: "What Does it Mean To Consider the Press an Independent Popular Power"]

[Text] It is not important that the press be prescribed in the constitution as a popular authority. What matters is for the journalist to be as independent, immune, objective and neutral as a judge. An independent, neutral, unbiased journalist who is not subject to removal or transfer is what makes the press a popular authority.

I liked what the leading journalist Mustafa Amin said in one of his "ideas" which he included in his latest book. He wrote: "To safeguard the freedom of the press, it is not enough to just call it the fourth estate, just as it is not enough to place on the door of the Liman Turrah prison a sign saying "The Egyptian University," and have the people believe that the prison has turned into a university--cells, shackles, guards, prisoners and all. Newspapers cannot be free when they are owned by the government or by the party which is in power. Nor can journalists be free when the government can hire or fire them by decree.

"Freedom of the press means that any citizen has the right to publish a newspaper even if it had one reader. It also means that it is the people who choose the writers they want to read and who can elevate those writers by reading them or relegate them to oblivion by not reading them. It does not mean that the government should impose those writers on the people, then jail them, punish them or keep them at bay at its own discretion. Freedom of the press means that the press should be the voice of the people not the government, that it should tell the ruler what the people want, not the other way round. It means that the press should throw light on the truth, on facts, and not try to conceal facts behind a screen of lies."

It is clear from the above that what matters is not merely to inscribe in the constitution that the press is an authority, but that the members of the press should be strong to give the press the weight that it should have in the life of the nation, and make it the voice which gives expression to the will of the nation and condemns what the nation does not want. To inscribe



in the constitution that the press is an authority when the word authority implies control and domination, cannot mean that the press has any such attribute, because the press is not a functionary of the state with a specific duty to perform and with powers and prerogatives guaranteed by the power of the government. Therefore, what concerns us is that the press should be free and independent, and should not be controlled by any agency of the government in any way.

Successive Egyptian constitutions have provided for the freedom of the press. Article 14 of the 1923 constitution provided that the press is free within the bounds of law, and that press censorship or the warning, suspension or proscription of newspapers is forbidden. Article 45 of the 1956 constitution says that "the freedom of the press and of printing and publishing is guaranteed in accordance with the interests of the people and within the bounds of law." Article 36 of the 1964 constitution is synonymous with Article 45 of the 1956 constitution. Article 48 of the 1971 constitution says: "The freedom of the press, printing, publishing and the means of advertisement is guaranteed, and it is forbidden to warn, suspend or close down newspapers by an administrative measure."

We recall in this regard that we have called for more than one amendment of the constitution, especially in connection with the way of electing the president, where we called for direct popular election of the president. We have also demanded that the position of the socialist prosecutor general be abolished to prevent duplication of authority, and called for a constitutional amendment that would bring about a balancing between the powers in more than one area. We have recorded all those suggestions in a memorandum which we presented to the speaker of the People's Assembly and asked him to distribute it among the members. He refused on the premise that the proposed amendment was not signed by a sufficient number of members as required by the constitution, and he filed the memo away.

We have recorded in the debates of the People's Assembly, as can be verified from the record of the 77th meeting, that we have submitted many suggestions with regard to amending the constitution and explained our position on the important aspects of amendments suggested by the majority. Accordingly, we agreed to a proposal specifying that the Islamic sharia (law) be considered as the primary source of legislation. We have also made clear our position on the amendment pertaining to the press and the Consultative Council, and expressed many reservations on that score. Yet we were not spared gentle rebuke from the eminent journalist Mustafa Mar'i. In his book *THE PRESS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND RULER*, he refers to us on page 68 with gentle rebuke, saying that we have agreed to the constitutional amendment pertaining to the press. He said verbatim: "God forgive the redoubtable Muntax Nassar who agreed to the amendment as well as the report at the meeting on 19 July 1979, after he prefaced his statement with a word of thanks to the Speaker from the distinguished effort he has displayed in the report."

The fact of the matter, as can be verified from the minutes of the 77th meeting cited in the third legislative volume of 30 April 1980, is that I recorded in the minutes all my remarks and reservations about the constitutional amendment in question. As for the first meeting, which took place on 19 July 1979, there were no discussions or debate on the details of the proposed amendments. Discussion at that meeting was confined to procedure and formalities, namely, that the amendment should be proposed by the number of members required by the constitution. The details and specifics of the provisions and proposals were not debated. They were actually debated at a later date, namely, at the meeting of 30 April 1980. At that meeting, we recorded all our observations and reservations about the constitutional amendment. I cite this correction to spare the eminent Mustafa Mar'i a lot of effort since we care about his views and hold him in high esteem.

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## APPLICATION OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY TO AGRICULTURE DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 9 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by Engineer Mahmud Fawzi: "Can Technology Be Introduced Into Agriculture? And Are We Serious About Increasing Agricultural Production?"]

[Text] Agricultural problems are myriad, and the need for increasing agricultural production is pressing and becoming more so as a result of the growth in population and the increase in the consumer needs of the people. The problems of agriculture are well-known and have been studied. Solutions are possible, and ongoing research comes out every day with new ideas and methods that make solutions more accessible and make the prospects of increasing production more possible and achievable. But are we serious about seeking to increase production? Is there serious, organized and planned action to introduce modern science, technology and the results of the latest studies, experiments and inventions into agriculture? Are we organized enough to accept any such possibilities and to make use of them?

The question of increasing production should receive double the attention it is receiving now, but our efforts should not be confined to drawing up plans and models without reforming the agricultural structure itself, because we cannot begin to increase production until we have reformed that system and turned it into a solid groundwork for the projected increase in production. The October war has taught us a lot. It has taught us that nothing is impossible as long as there are sound planning, solid determination, clear target and complete faith in what we are doing and what will be realized, with God's help.

So, to increase agricultural production, we have to reform the agricultural structure. The most important areas which should be immediately reformed are:

1. The system of land acquisition. The fragmentation of land ownerships has turned the tiny, scattered, and splintered acquisitions and holdings into an obstacle in the way of any real progress in the agricultural sector. They stand in the way of any sound application of mechanized farming and fly in the face of logic and reason. They also obstruct any necessary efforts to consolidate land holdings and any attempts to intensify farming and create

specialization, etc. There have been many experiments designed to improve this fragmentary system of acquisitions, either wholly or in part. The ministry of agriculture made one such experiment, namely, the consolidation of the agricultural utilization of the cotton crop since 20 years ago, following the success of the (Nawaj) experiment. But the ministry of agriculture then stood still and remained in a frozen position. It has failed to do anything else. It has not tried to consolidate the utilization of other crops in order to benefit more people, nor has it tried to go on with its attempts to consolidate agricultural utilization to the extent that would enable it to deal with the Lilliputian size of land holdings, although it could do so and although the need to do so is clear.

2. Changing the agricultural cycles in keeping with modern progress. It has been established that the present makeup of the crops does not maximize returns from the natural and human resources that are available and that are being used in agricultural production operations. The growth of the present makeup of the crops was originally designed as a means to providing enough supplies of food for those working in agriculture, who did not have enough food. The only increase in the food supplies was in vegetables and sugar-cane. If the present makeup of the crops continue as it is now, we will be facing very soon problems that would be very difficult to overcome.

3. The intensification of crops. By this we mean the size of different crops in an area per year. If we plant two crops in the same feddan of land per year this means a crop intensification rate of 200 percent. The rate of crop intensification in Egypt is 180 percent although it is 300 percent in many states. The rate of intensification would increase by planting early-growth crops and co-planting closely-related crops, such as onions and garlic, with cotton. Countries like ours have been able to raise wheat three times a year and raise rice more than three times a year. The rate of crop intensification in vegetables reached 400 to 500 percent. The land is not allowed to go fallow for one day.

Besides changes in the agricultural structure, there are other matters which should have been taken up by the ministry of agriculture years ago but which were left without any serious study or consideration. They include the following:

1. The crops of the Green Revolution which began in 1944 with the Mexican wheat that was raised in Mexico (by the Rockefeller Singer mission), then moved to the Philippines where it developed a breed of rice called miracle rice. These achievements turned cereal-importing countries into cereal exporters. We introduced Mexican wheat into Egypt without first studying the strains that would be suitable for us, in terms of the color of the flour, the quality of the dough and the type of chaff that remains behind. As a result, Egyptian farmers turned away from Mexican wheat, although there are kinds that can satisfy the needs of the peasants.

2. Maximization of agricultural production by increasing land utilization. (I have proposed) to the ministry of agriculture a project that would combine cotton with wheat, providing at least one million extra feddans of wheat. Fields would be planted with wheat, then afterwards with cotton seedlings. But the ministry of agriculture was not interested in increasing the wheat produce by 1.5 million tons or in utilizing one million feddans of land to raise winter crops then plant cotton seedlings in them. Indeed, the idea of crop combination did not receive adequate attention although it would realize a greater income for the peasants and the state and would provide extra crops for exportation.

There are many early-growth crops which have been utilized by various states and which have led to a real green revolution in these states. The results of all such experiments are well-known and available and they can be tried in Egypt or used as a nucleus for raising new strains in Egypt.

3. Systematization of irrigation. Water is the most important element in our agricultural system. If, through the systematic application of irrigation, we are able to reduce the water allowance per feddan from 8,500 cubic meters, for example, to 5,000 cubic meters, we would then be able to expand the arable area as well as lessen the (word unknown--tatbil) agricultural lands, which is the factor that threatens high-yield areas with the elevation of the water table. The inundation system of irrigation must be finally changed in the interest of the producers and agricultural production.

4. Mechanized farming. Mechanized farming is the basis of introducing modern technology into agriculture. The state of mechanized farming in Egypt requires a long practical and objective study, and our hope is great that the agricultural services company which was set up by the National Democratic Party will succeed. The company plans to apply mechanized farming in a sound manner that is not intended to reap profits but to serve the peasant, increase his income and the national income and serve the needs of food security.

5. Production Coops. The desired change in the countryside heavily depends on these coops. The president himself has urged that services coops be turned into production coops. However, the ministry of agriculture has made no effort to implement that, but left the coops exposed and vulnerable to the onslaughts of the village banks.

6. Livestock Production. Livestock production requires real efforts, for the struggle between man and animal over the land should not continue. It is a known fact that Egyptian livestock is among the lowest producers of milk and meat. If there were serious studies on raising livestock to produce animals of high quality in terms of producing milk and meat, and if mechanized farming is added, half of the fields which are now planted with alfalfa and other animal feed would be spared and used for farming while the production of meat and milk would increase.



7. Agricultural Expansion. Agricultural expansion should be established on technological bases that are completely different from the methods used in the past with regard to irrigation methods, the use of chemicals, the choice of crops and the method of farming and service. We make mistakes then repeat the same mistakes time and again. We have to know that agriculture in the future should depend entirely in scientific and technological progress.

8. The Use of Fertilizers. One of the most significant obstacles in the way of agricultural production is the shortage in chemical fertilizers. In many crops, the amount of fertilizers given to the peasants is no more than one third the quantity that has to be used. There are general complaints about this. Take corn, for example. To raise 30 to 32 ardebs of corn, a peasant needs at least 150 azotic units, but what he gets is 62 units which can produce no more than 9 ardebs. The entire world has expanded the use of necessary fertilizers, including compound--instead of simple--fertilizers.

The world is speeding ahead in agricultural production, but we are not able to move at the same pace or move with the speed and tempo required by the growth of population and the increase in the level of need. Since the president himself has taken over the role of prime minister and since the ministry of agriculture is held by an efficient and capable scholar and practical man, Dr Mahmud Dawud, our hope is great that the ministry of agriculture will begin to work seriously to take advantage of the scientific progress in the world.

9254

CSO: 4842

## FICTITIOUS PRICE REDUCTIONS BY MINISTERS EXPOSED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 9 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "Imaginary Reductions in Prices; Three Charges Against Officials in Industry and Supply Ministries: 1) Forgery, 2) Insulting the People's Assembly, and 3) Deceiving the Masses"]

[Text] AL-AHRAR has exposed the most serious ruse designed to deceive the masses and mislead public opinion and the political leadership in Egypt; the ministries of industry and supply have announced fictitious price reductions to alleviate the plight of the masses.

The two ministries have issued lists that occupied full pages in the national papers over a period of three days within the past two weeks. The lists contained the prices of 183 items produced by the canned foods companies of Qaha and Edwina. The ministers of industry and supply Muhammad Zaki Taha and Ahmad Suh proclaimed that the reductions run to as much as 40 percent, and they deposited the reduction lists with the secretariat of the People's Assembly.

AL-AHRAR has obtained the previous lists of the same items, which have been in effect in the markets until last week, to compare them with the new reduced prices. When the comparison was made, the exposure was complete. The comparison shows that the price reductions are not only fictitious, but actually represent an increase in prices. The increase in the prices of some items runs as high as 50 percent.

To carry deception a step forward, the national papers reported that some merchants and coops have refused to apply the new reduced prices under the pretext that they have not been advised of the new prices yet. The papers demanded that the merchants and coops abide by the new reduced prices.

In fact, the abidance with the new "reduced" prices will increase the suffering of the masses and further enrich the merchants who store ample quantities of these items. They will not be penalized or brought to account for selling the items at the new prices. On the contrary, they would be earning the thanks of the ministries of industry and supply.

This is the first time the government compels merchants to sell at increased prices and the first time that industrial companies deceive the masses in this fashion which would have passed unnoticed. Indeed, these companies may have even asked the government to allocate extra funds in the budget to compensate them for their losses as a result of the reduced prices!!

AL-AHRAR demands that those responsible for this serious ruse be brought to trial on three charges:

1. Forging official lists released by the ministries of industry and supply.
2. Insulting the People's Assembly by submitting fictitious statements to the Assembly members.
3. Deceiving the masses by claiming that prices have been reduced when actually they have been raised, and deceiving the political leadership by making it believe that price reductions have been instituted when in fact they have not.

7234  
CSO: 4802

## JUDICIARY MUST BE UPHOLD AS INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 9 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by Muntaz Nassari: "What Does It Mean To Consider the Judiciary an Independent and Neutral Authority?"]

[Text] Chapter Four of the constitution of 11 September 1971, deals with the judiciary. In Article 165, it says that "the judiciary is an independent authority exercised by the courts of various levels and specializations, which shall issue their verdicts in accordance with the law." Article 166 says that "the judges are independent, subject only to law in the performance of their duties. No authority shall interfere in the cases they handle or in the affairs of justice." Article 168 says that "the judges are not subject to dismissal and the law shall regulate the question of any disciplinary action against them."

## The Judiciary: An Authority or a Utility?

These are the constitutional facts adopted by the constitutional legislator in our country. Before that, the status of the judiciary was a subject of debate and controversy on whether the judiciary is an authority or a utility. The issue was raised at a public meeting of the National Assembly--the 22nd meeting of the Assembly held on 2 April 1968 during the 5th ordinary session of the Assembly. The Assembly had before it then a bill on illegal profit. Based on the minutes of that meeting, a member of the Assembly called Muhammad 'Atiyyah Isma'il raised an objection about a sentence in the report prepared by the legislative committee. The sentence reads as follows: "The committee wishes to draw attention to the fact that the passage of that project has placed heavy burdens on the utility of justice." The member of the Assembly said: I object to this sentence, because the judiciary is not a "utility," but an authority--a power exactly like the executive and legislative powers. He noted that the constitution--chapter 4, Article 152--referred to the judicial authority and asked that the word "utility" be deleted from the report.

## Dialogue Between the Speaker and the Member

The Speaker said in reply to the objection that "the honorable member was a member of the committee which presented the report. The member conceded in reply that he was a member indeed, but said that he is now asking the Assembly to remove the phrase because the Assembly has the right to make changes in the committee's report. The Speaker retorted that "there is no doubt that we all highly revere and esteem our judiciary, and I do not see any need for this discussion. I repeat that I meant by my remarks to make clear that the report, including the phrase which is challenged, was submitted by the legislative committee and the objector is a member of that committee." The minister of justice then rose and said the following: "In the modern constitutional system, there cannot be any authority in the state save that of the people. All else are just agencies and bodies performing their jurisdictions in the service of the people. The word "power" or "authority" was first used in France. It was then dropped in 1870 and changed to the word jurisdiction. Every agency is exercising jurisdictions but is not an authority. We mean by utility an apparatus that serves the people. There is no doubt that the utility of justice is performed by the judiciary." Assembly member 'Muhammad 'Atiyah Iama'il replied that the constitution provides for three authorities, including the judicial authority. The Speaker remarked that "we are not in disagreement over that."

The conclusion that can be drawn from the minutes of the National Assembly is that there are two views on the status of the judiciary and what its role should be.

#### Unwarranted Debate

The first view says that the judiciary is an authority. The second view says that the judiciary is a utility. That debate was absolutely unwarranted. All the Egyptian constitutions--those of 1923, 1956, 1964 and 1971--referred to the judiciary as the judicial authority. Therefore, it is clear that the reference to the judiciary as a utility is inconsistent with the constitutional provisions of our country.

Some writers have become accustomed to calling the judiciary a utility, but this kind of thinking is at odds with our traditions and cannot be endorsed by our type of socialism, because it is a socialism deriving from our life, religions and traditions that have been rooted in the hearts and consciences of the people for a long time, thereby becoming a part of the people and a constitutional reality that cannot be abridged. The idea that the judiciary is a utility, like any other institution, is an imported idea advanced by researchers in the Communist countries. The idea has been largely scrapped, because it involves popular control of the judiciary which in turn would jeopardize the judiciary's immunity and independence. The Central Committee in the Soviet Union found it necessary in 1966 to caution about that and to recommend the removal of any control over the judiciary in order to fully insure that the judiciary would be fully safeguarded.



## The Judiciary an Independent Authority

What seems to be clear is that most world constitutions, ours included, provide that "the judiciary is an independent authority." The point in that is that freedom is the other face of the judiciary. Freedom and the judiciary are interlaced and indivisible, because the judiciary is the legal underpinning of the concept of freedom and the natural framework for the safeguards of freedom. There can be no freedom without the supremacy of law because the safeguards of freedom are only necessary in the face of the authority of the state. The judiciary alone is capable of establishing the supremacy of law in the face of the state authority.

Since it is the role of the judiciary to insure the freedom of man, the judiciary cannot or would not be suited to perform this role unless three elements are guaranteed and endorsed by all the people and their various groups because they are the safeguards of every individual in the present and the future and whether he is a subject or a ruler, innocent or guilty. These three elements affect the members of the judiciary in their capacity as part of the people. They mean everything to the concept of justice and the the judicial system, in other words they involve this question: to be or not to be. These three major bases are the recognition of the judiciary as an authority independent of the legislative and executive authorities and the political apparatus, the insurance of the neutrality of the judiciary and the avoidance of any action that would infringe upon the judicial system's independence and entity.

## Providing the Means of Neutrality

Having reviewed the meaning of the independence of the judiciary and the need to provide the judiciary with the means of neutrality, and to avoid infringing upon the independence and prestige of the members of the judiciary, it behooves us to comment on the president's speech of 14 May 1980, at the People's Assembly. In that speech, the president said that "some members of the judiciary who have expressed their opposition to the Law on Morality feel that they have performed a political act." In his address to the ministers and governors at the first meeting of the new cabinet on 19 May 1980, the president asked the minister of justice to set up a committee of values from among members of the judiciary.

## Remarks About the President's Speech

In the light of our affirmation of the independence and neutrality of the judiciary, it behooves us to express our convictions with regard to the president's remarks on this subject. Apropos of the first point of view expressed by the president that rejection of the Law on Morality by members of the judiciary is a political act which a member of the judiciary should not practice, we disagree with the president's view. Article 173 of the constitution states that "the affairs of the judicial system shall be supervised by a higher council under the president of the republic. The law shall prescribe the manner in which the council shall be formed, its jurisdictions and its rules of

operation. The views of that council shall be sought on bills that regulate the affairs of the judicial system."

Since the bill on Morality provides for the establishment of new courts (Courts of Values) which shall include, in addition to career judges, other members selected by the executive authority from among public personalities, and since the bill also prescribes for the Socialist Prosecutor General powers that overlap with the jurisdictions of the Attorney General's Office, then Article 111 of the constitution requires that the opinion of the higher council of the judicial system be solicited on the matter. Accordingly, it is natural for the general syndicates which constitute the entire body of judges to express opinions on that bill which affect the work and functions of the judges. Views on that bill cannot conceivably be confined to the members of the higher council of the judiciary system, because those members are there as representatives of the syndicates of judges. With this in mind, the minister of justice, at one of his news conferences, called on the general syndicates of judges to express their views about the Law on Morality. If some members of the judiciary have rejected that law, they cannot be held accountable for doing so, and they should not be considered as having performed a political act. Therefore, we do not agree with the view expressed by the president in that regard.

As for the president's instructions to the minister of justice to set up a committee of values from among members of the judiciary, we do not see any need for such a committee at all. Such a committee has no place in the realm of the judiciary at all, for the Judicial Authority Law No 46 of 1972 has taken care of the issue and manner of bringing judges to account. This law makes the committee totally unnecessary.

#### Providing Safeguards First

To put things in perspective and insure the independence and neutrality of the judiciary, it behooves us to deal with the affairs of the judiciary in such a manner that would bolster its independence and provide all the safeguards that are required by the responsibility of effecting justice and applying it to all the people.

1754

CSO: 4802

## OPPOSITION NOTIFIES PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF FALSE PRICE REDUCTIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 16 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "The Fictitious Prices Before the People's Assembly"]

[Text] The Socialist Liberal Party has tabled an interpellation at the People's Assembly concerning the fictitious reductions in the prices of food materials which were listed by AL-AHRAR on 9 June. Liberal Party deputy Ilfat Kamil submitted the interpellation through Assembly Speaker Sufi Abu Talib to supply minister Ahmad Nuh and industry minister Taha Zaki on the subject of "the fictitious price reductions announced by the two ministries following President al-Sadat's speech of 14 May and his instructions to reduce prices."

The People's Assembly will take up this matter within days. In the meantime, supply minister Ahmad Nuh told AL-AHRAR that the previous cabinet raised food prices on 28 April, only 48 hours before the new cabinet came into office, but that he decided against announcing or applying the price increases. He said that the reduction in prices, which was made in accordance with the instructions of President al-Sadat, is based on prices as increased by the previous cabinet but not announced by the new cabinet when it assumed office. It thus appeared to the consumers that the prices were actually increased not decreased.

As an example, the minister cited the case of a can of food which was selling at 20 piasters. The previous cabinet, he said, increased the price to 32 piasters on 28 April, but that new price was not disclosed by the present cabinet which assumed office soon after the price hikes, nor was it applied. Instead, the can continued to sell for 20 piasters until the new cabinet formally reduced its official price from 32 piasters to 25. To the unknowing consumer, it appeared that the price has gone up by 5 piasters when actually it has gone down by 7 piasters.

9254

CSO: 4602

## OPPOSITION BARRED FROM CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 16 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "The Opposition Is Barred From Joining the Consultative Council; Elections Law Should Be Amended To Give Chance to the View of Others"]

[Text] The Socialist Liberal Party has rejected the Consultative Council bill which is now before the People's Assembly, affirming that the bill in its present format deprives the opposition from gaining access to the Consultative Council, and places obstacles which would deny the view of others the opportunity to express itself--an abridgement of the democratic system in Egypt.

At an emergency meeting of the party's general secretariat, chaired by Mustafa Kamil Murad last Saturday, the party demanded that several provisions of the bill be amended, primarily Article 13 which states that "members of the Consultative Council shall be elected on the strength of the party tickets which have received an absolute majority of all the votes," and that "in all circumstances, parties which do not receive at least 5 percent of the total votes cast throughout the republic shall not be represented in the council."

The Liberal Party objects to this article on two counts:

1. The stipulation that a party should receive an absolute majority of the total votes is contrary to the principle of proportional representation. Thus, in a district of 100,000 voters and 10 seats in the council, a party which receives 60,000 votes would win 6 seats, while a party which wins 40,000 votes would win the other 4 seats. This is the principle of proportional representation which would translate the real weight of the various political parties. Conversely, the stipulation that a party should win absolute majority, such as provided for in the proposed bill, means that a party would win no seats unless its ticket received more than half the votes in the district. This is a novelty which has been shunned by any state that applies the principle of election by party ticket and which would undermine this system which has become an established norm in democratic countries.

The Liberal Party emphasized that this novelty which has been devised by the government's party and incorporated in its bill will elicit the laughter of the democratic world and turn election by party ticket to election by district with the aim of enabling the National Democratic P --with all its

capabilities and electoral tactics--to take over the entire Consultative Council.

2. The Liberal Party emphasized that the requirement pertaining to a minimum of 5 percent of the total national vote is one which is applicable in those states in which the party system has become fully rooted and established. There is no objection to that provision in principle, but in a country like Egypt where the party system experiment is still nascent this provision constitutes a major obstacle which would bar the opposition from the Consultative Council. Given its modest capabilities, an opposition party would be denied entry into the council, according to this provision, even if it were successful in some governorates. That is to say that an opposition party may win in some governorates but still fail to capture a single seat in the Consultative Council because it may not have won 5 percent of the total national vote.

The Liberal Party also objected to Article 3 of the bill which states that "each governorate shall be considered a single electoral district." The party's general secretariat emphasized that this article reduces the chances of success as far as the opposition parties are concerned. It said that the bill should have maintained the initial plan published in the national newspapers which divided the large governorates into more than one electoral district. Dividing Cairo into 4 districts would provide the opposition with an opportunity to win one or more districts, but it seems that there is a fear of giving an opposition party the chance to win even a single seat in the Consultative Council.

9254

CSO: 4802



## PARTIES, UNIONS DECRY PLAN TO DISSOLVE PRESS SYNDICATE

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 16 Jun 80 p 3

[Article: "Trade Unions and Parties Continue to Debate the Question of the Liquidation of the Press Syndicate"]

[Text] Trade unions and political parties in Egypt continue to debate the inclination to liquidate the press syndicate and re-register journalists following the formation of a higher press council that would arrogate to itself the rights and prerogatives of the syndicate, primarily the right to register and discipline journalists. This week, there were three statements on the subject by the press syndicate itself, the bar association and the Grouping party. Using more than one conclusive legal argument, the three statements stressed that the tendency to dissolve the press syndicate is in fact an assault on the constitution and international agreements to which Egypt was a party. The statements pointed out that the move against the press syndicate may be a prelude to a general onslaught on the entire unionist movement. They also underscored the solidarity among the various trade unions and underlined the apprehension which political parties of all inclinations feel with regard to the prospect of abridging the freedom of the press in Egypt.

The Press Syndicate: Should We Turn Lawyers Into a Fifth Estate?

Ihsan 'Abd al-Maqsud writes:

The dean of the press syndicate Kamil Zuhayri has issued a statement in the name of the syndicate in which he said that calling the press an authority or an estate is merely a figure of speech, such as calling lawyers standing judges. It would be unreasonable to turn the law profession into a fifth estate and make lawyers into civil servants on the basis of the expression that judges sit and lawyers stand. Legal conclusions cannot be derived from verbal similes and figures of speech.

Kamil Zuhayri said "We defend the right of the press syndicate to continue as a professional organization which regulates and organizes the profession of journalism and which is based on the 1971 constitution and all the laws

pertaining to the press which were issued in 1941, 1955 and 1970. Our position is supported by pronouncements made by administrative courts and by the unanimous opinion of jurists. It is also backed and endorsed by the universal declaration of human rights.

"We caution against several legal errors, he said, if the syndicate is turned into a club. Primary among these would be a constitutional error, a disregard for Article 56 of the present constitution and a violation of the accepted legal definition of a journalist, namely, that a journalist is not a civil servant and not a worker who is subject to an employment contract."

Kamil Zuhayri said that Egypt follows the system of one union per profession, and that in view of the multiparty system, the trade union would necessarily include members of different persuasions. He warned against the damages which would befall journalists registered in the present press record, including material damages that would involve salaries, severance pay, annual leave, sick leave and advance notice before the termination of a contract. He said that these are material rights which journalists have acquired and won over a period of 40 years and which have been legally adopted.

Zuhayri went on to say that revision of the register would be unconstitutional because it would infringe upon the journalist's right to practice his profession, the principle that citizens are equal before the law and the acquired rights of the registered journalists. The register was revised only once since 1941. That was in 1955 when newspapers owners quit the syndicate.

Zuhayri emphasized that the syndicate is a juristic body within the public law, adding that there are scores of pronouncements made by administrative justice all attesting to the right of trade unions to register and discipline their members. Fortunately, the 1971 constitution is clear in guaranteeing the right to the formation of unions, and the Higher Constitutional Court and the administrative courts will deter any encroachment on the constitution, the law or the rights of the syndicate members.

Zuhayri said that there is nothing in the world that resembles the Higher Press Council. The legislators cannot give that council the prerogative of disciplining journalists, because the accountability of journalists is based on the penal code. The general attorney's office can bring suit against any Egyptian journalist abroad whom it considers to be guilty, in accordance with Article 80 of the penal code. The syndicate, or any other body, cannot do anything in this case until a final criminal verdict has been issued. By saying this, Zuhayri added, we are not defending the mistakes but merely defending the reputation of the supremacy of law, the reputation of the syndicate and the reputation of the regime.

**The Bar Association: The New Legislation Designed to Organize the Press Infringes Upon Freedom and Democracy**

Layla 'Abd al-Salam writes:

The bar association has issued a statement decrying the liquidation of the press syndicate and the revision of the press register. In its statement, the bar association said:

"Our people--with the bar association in the forefront--are following with great interest and deep concern what is being said these days about turning the press syndicate into a club and revising the press register. This trend, which is intended to be codified soon into a new legislation to regulate and re-organize the press, would do away with the entity of the sisterly trade union, the press syndicate, and deprive it of the rights and prerogatives guaranteed by the constitution and by current laws. This would be firstly and foremostly an infringement upon the cause of freedom and democracy which our people believe to be their means to a life of stability, progress and prosperity.

"The bar association, in keeping with its national mission and its true commitment to the cause of defending right, the constitution and the law, sees in this trend a clear deviation from the constitution and a violation of international covenants related to human rights and the freedom of trade unionism, for the following reasons:

"One: Article 56 of the 1971 constitution states that "the establishment of trade unions and federations on a democratic basis is a right guaranteed by law." Therefore, stripping the press syndicate of its character as a trade union and converting it into a mere social club would deprive the journalists of their constitutional right to establish a trade union of their own. On the other hand, the interference of the state in the affairs of the press syndicate in a bid to re-arrange its status, contrary to the semi-consensus decision of its members, involves a violation of International Agreement No 87 pertaining to the freedom of establishing trade unions and the need to protect such associations, which obligate public authorities to desist from any interference which would restrict the establishment of trade unions or impede the exercise of that right.

"Two: The call for turning the press into a fourth estate and for passing the ownership of national papers to the Consultative Council would rob the profession of journalism of its freedom and independence, turn journalists into employees and strip the press of the quality of being a free profession. The mission of the press, as a free profession, is inconsistent with the connotation of authority or estate, because an authority first of all assumes that the exerciser of that authority has the ability to wield power and say yes or no and subsequently the power to coerce others. This is something that has never been a characteristic of the press which has nothing but the power of the word.

"Three: To empower the Higher Press Council to run the affairs of the press and purge the press register of those journalists who are considered to be undesirable would be a violation of a basic human right as prescribed in Article 23.4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Every person has the right to establish and join a union in protection of his interest." One of the first manifestations of trade unionism is that the trade union should be in full charge of its own register and have the first and final

day in all the affairs of its members. To strip a trade union of that right would undercut its entity and turn it into a hollow structure as well as deprive it of a prerogative guaranteed by the constitution. Article 56 of the constitution clearly says that the trade union is "responsible for making its members account for their conduct in carrying out their activities, in accordance with certain codes of ethics, and for defending the rights and freedoms legally granted to its members." To consign this prerogative to the Higher Press Council would be a clear deviation from the constitution.

"Four: To consign tutelage over the press and journalists to a higher press council formed by a presidential decree runs against the goals of the recent constitutional amendments which included the return to a multi-party system that allows each party to have its own press. It follows logically that some of the journalists will be working for such party papers, and so it cannot be said then that those journalists should be deprived of their right to join a union that looks after their affairs.

"Five: The action that is being planned against the press syndicate, if it were to take place, would constitute a serious precedent that would not involve just the journalists who are being singled out for such measures but would jeopardize all those engaged in the profession of journalism. Indeed, its danger will spread out to include other free professions, thereby endangering the future of the entire trade unionist movement which is one of the pillars of democracy."

"In view of all this, the bar association appeals to all the constitutional institutions in the Egyptian Arab Republic to give this matter the attention it deserves. We also appeal to everyone to band together in order to preserve the entity of the press syndicate and all its rights which are guaranteed by the constitution and law.

"We do this in dedication to a democracy which we are seeking and a freedom that we would like to see fully established over all the Arab lands. God is the source of truth and the guide that shows us the way."

**NPIC: Abolition of Syndicate's A Balatant Aggression Against the Press and the Rights of Journalists**

Jamal 'Abd al-Sami' writes:

The NPIC said in a statement that the abolition of the press syndicate would contravene International Agreement No 87 pertaining to the freedom of establishing trade unions and the protection of trade unionism, which Egypt has signed. One of its provisions states that "workers and employers indiscriminately have the right to establish or join whatever unions they desire without prior permission and without being subject except to the rules and regulations of those associations. The public authorities shall refrain from any interference that would restrict this right or impede its legitimate application. The associations of workers employers shall not be subject to dissolution or suspension and shall be protected by the safeguards provided for in this agreement."

The new legislation collides with one of the most time-honored trade unions in Egypt which has played a pioneering role in the establishment of 18 Arab syndicates, the Federation of Arab Journalists, the Federation of African Journalists and the International Journalists Federation.

The abolition of the press syndicate and its conversion into a club represent a blatant aggression against the profession of journalism and the material and moral rights of journalists.

The statement of the general secretariat of the NPUC noted that the threat of such measures is not confined to the press and journalists--although this in itself is very serious--but would extend sooner or later to the entire trade unionist movement. Infringement upon any unionist organization is an infringement upon the basic rights of the working citizen and his right to resort to a democratic association to defend his rights.

While the government has singled out the press syndicate, it will not hesitate, if its onslaught were to put an end to the edifice represented by the syndicate of Egyptian journalists, to repeat its attacks on other trade unions and associations in different ways and by various other means.

9254

C80: 4802



## LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN MINISTRY PARTLY TO BLAME FOR BAD CROP

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 23 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by Mahmud Fawzi: "Who's Responsible? Two Million Ardeb Shortfall in This Year's Wheat Crop. Finger of Accusation Points to the 'Heat' and 'Thirst'"]

[Text] It was expected and hoped that the average yield of wheat per feddan this year would be higher than last year's average. But the actual crop indicates that this year's average yield per feddan was 2 ardebs less than last year's. To find out the facts about this year's wheat crop, AL-AHRAR toured several governorates and villages so that its findings would reflect the factual situation clearly, based on an on-site inspection of production centers.

## Lack of Confidence

For an example, at the village of al-Bishah in the district of Manuf, AL-AHRAR met with farmer 'Abd al-Rahman 'Ashshub. He said that this year his one and a half feddans of land produced 12 ardebs of wheat, but that last year they produced 16 ardebs.

Farmer Hamed Wabbah said that last year and this year, he planted wheat in kerats (kerat equivalent to 1/24 feddan). Last year, the area he planted yielded 2.5 ardebs of wheat, while this year it produced only 2 ardebs. That amounts to a decrease of 2 ardebs per feddan than last year. We asked him where does he get his seedlings from, and he answered that he does not trust government wheat seedlings and that for the past 20 years he has been using the wheat of the previous year's crop as seeds. He also said that fertilizers are insufficient and that the impact of heat on the wheat stalks during the period when the kernels are forming is the cause of the decrease. The heat stroke during the period of kernel formation tends to reduce the size of the wheat kernel.

Farmer Ramadan 'Abd al-Maqsood adds that he raises 6 kerats of wheat, but that this year's crop was 2 ardebs lower than last year's. Last year, his crop was 2.5 ardebs against 2 ardebs this year.

We saw farmer Muhammad 'Abd al-'Aziz Masab operating a winnowing machine which he had bought for 70 pounds 10 years ago. He says that the machine now costs 250 pounds and that it can handle 3 feddans per day. For his wage, he gets a kilah per ardeb. He said that the machine requires 4 persons to operate and that it brings in an income equivalent to 10 kilahs of wheat per day.

#### The Heat Wave

At 'Isbat Iman, farmer hajj 'Abd al-Halim said that he plants Mexican wheat in an area of one and a half feddans each year. His crop last year, he said, was 3 ardebs per feddan more than this year's crop. According to him, the reason is that the heat wave in April and May hurt the wheat crop during the formation stage and caused the grain of wheat to be smaller and lighter.

Farmer 'Abd al-'Ati 'Afifi raises 15 kerats of wheat in Hawd 'Afifi each year. This year he cropped 4 ardebs, while the same area yielded 5 ardebs last year. He said that he has been using Indian wheat seeds for 20 years. The government wheat, he said, is "no good" because the color of the flour is dark and the chaff is shunned by the cattle. He does not use government wheat although the coop in the village bank said that it will harass anyone who does not receive government wheat for seeds.

In the village of Tilwatah in the district of al-Bajur, farmer Mahmud Mustafa Nigaz said that the heat wave during the period of kernel formation has reduced the yield per feddan from 12 ardebs last year to 8 ardebs this year. He is supported in that by farmer 'Abd al-'Azim 'Afifi al-Piqi who said that the average yield per feddan in his land of 15 kerats has decreased than last year's average by 2 ardebs.

#### The Yield is Less

At the village of Qalta al-Sughra, we met farmer 'Atiyyah Kamel 'Atiyyah as he was threshing the remainder of his wheat crop. He said that he raises wheat in an area of 15 kerats in Hawd al-Bustan and that this year's yield was 3 ardebs less than last year's. The same thing was said by farmer Jaber Khattab of Qalta al-Kubra. He pointed out that he planted wheat in an area of one feddan this year and that his crop was 9 ardebs versus 12 ardebs last year.

Farmer Anis 'Abd al-Sayyed adds that this year he planted 6 kerats of wheat which produced 2.5 ardebs, whereas last year he planted 15 kerats of wheat which yielded 8 ardebs.

'Abd al-Latif Wahdan, a farmer in the village of Rahim who raises 4 feddans of wheat, said that this year's crop was less by 2 ardebs on average than last year's because of the heat wave in April and May and thirst.

In the village of al-Shawashinah, Abahway district, farmer Muhammad Jabali who raises 2 feddans of wheat said that this year's crop in his land was

one ardeb less than last year's. Farmer Isma'il Muhammad Ibrahim of Tubash al-Khadra' in the Abshway district adds that the heat and thirst were responsible for lowering the average yield of his crop per feddan by 3 ardebs this year, as compared to last year. He plants 4 feddans of wheat.

In al-Qalyubiyah, farmer Mustafa Ahmad 'Abdullah al-Nahhal of Kafr Taha says that he raises Mexican wheat in an area of 2 feddans. Last year, his average yield was 13 ardebs per feddan, while this year the average was 11 ardebs due to the heat wave in April and May.

#### What is Required of the Officials in Charge

All those meetings took place in the various villages and fields and they reflect the facts which AL-AHRAR wishes to submit to the competent authorities so that there would be no excuse in not maintaining supply levels for this year and the first half of next year.

Increasing agricultural production requires first of all and by necessity that the farmers have confidence in the ministry of agriculture and in its instructions and directives. The loss of confidence in the ministry has gone to the extent that some farmers have insisted on using seeds from their own produce of the previous year for 20 years without interruption. They have refused to receive government wheat, because they do not trust the ministry of agriculture, this is a very serious matter and should be avoided. The ministry of agriculture should seek to give advice and guidance to the peasants and farmers in a more convincing and acceptable manner. Pressure and intimidation will lead to no result.

The minister of agriculture, who is daily seeking to raise the level of efficiency in his ministry, will not allow matters to continue to run in that fashion. And now that the faithful President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat has taken over the responsibility of domestic action, the tactics used with the farmers should be radically changed. The situation should be faced truthfully and realistically so that we may be able to achieve the progress that is required in terms of increasing production to meet the requirements of food security.

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## OPPOSITION FIGURE URGES ANTI-ISRAEL MEASURES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 23 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by Muntaz Nassari: "Freezing Relations with Israel Has Become a National and Nationalist Duty"]

[Text] It is clear from repeated statements recently made by Israeli officials during the autonomy talks between Egypt and Israel that Israel, as news agencies unanimously report, does not intend to give the Palestinians full autonomy, as agreed upon in the Camp David accords, and that it plans to perpetuate its sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a liberated area that belongs to it. It is clear that Israeli officials--hawks and doves alike--want more settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and want to strengthen the present settlements. It is also clear that Israeli officials consider a unified Jerusalem to be the eternal capital of Israel. The Israeli Knesset's measure in that regard was adopted with near unanimity. In view of all these clear positions by Israel, it behooves Egypt to adopt a position that measures up to its responsibility on that issue.

There is no doubt that to simply adopt a position of protesting the denouncing the Israeli actions would not do, and would fall short of a typical position in accord with Egypt's history and its responsibility in the Arab world. Indeed, international law permits Egypt to refrain from fulfilling its commitments with regard to the normalization of relations and so forth, as prescribed in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. Egypt is also entitled to freeze all relations that have been instituted between the two contracting parties. If America, which is a partner in the treaty, is not able, because of the elections and electoral circumstances, to twist Israel's arms, Egypt should notify Israel that, since it has impaired the peace initiative and process, it has become necessary for Egypt to review its accounts with Israel in the light of the new situation and freeze all its relations with Israel. Thus, Israel may realize that it has gone astray and disturbed peace and that it is ultimately the loser.

Were the state to take these measures, it would be reviving the hope of re-establishing pan-Arab solidarity which has been torn asunder thereby tempting Israel to take such intransigent attitudes. Once Israel realizes that by its behavior it has unified public opinion in Egypt about the need to isolate and deny Israel, it will repent and regain its senses.

Israel has not just committed crimes against the Palestinian people as a whole, but Jewish militants and diehards have gone to excess in committing individual crimes, such as the crimes committed in the past few days against the West Bank mayors which have aroused the condemnation of international organizations. We have raised this issue in an interpellation submitted at the People's Assembly and urged that Egypt should not content itself with just condemning the blatant aggression committed against the Palestinian people, but should go beyond that and freeze relations with Israel. Thus, Egypt may initiate the process of reviving pan-Arab solidarity as it existed during the glorious 1973 war.

Accordingly, I appeal to the ruling National Democratic Party, which is the majority party, to call on its government to freeze relations with Israel. Egypt as a whole should take this position toward a fanatical and arrogant state steeped in racism. One cannot imagine that such a state can have normal relations with other states, for it is an aberration which should be tightly contained. This should become a national and nationalist goal for every Egyptian, so that Israel may be denied the opportunity of growing and expanding at the expense of the Arab states.

Since the method which we have used with Israel has done nothing but create Arab disunity and feed Israel's arrogance and conceit, it is time to review all our accounts with that state which was planted in the body of the Arab nation to disrupt its movement and obstruct its progress. It has also become necessary to put things in perspective and to strive to re-establish pan-Arab solidarity. If Egyptians unite behind this principle, Israel's arrogance would disappear because it cannot possibly continue in the manner which we detect today in the behavior of the Israeli officials. This would be the method which Israel understands quite well and would work hard to avoid it. To depend on the prospect of American pressure on Israel would lead to no positive results because of the influence of American Jews on the American government and because those American Jews tend to be loyal to Israel and to promote the realization of Israeli interests in a manner that would please and satisfy Israel.

In closing, I appeal to all Egyptians to rally together in solidarity and to consider this a national and nationalist duty. "God, do not weaken our hearts after having guided us and grant us your mercy, for you are the giver of everything." [Koranic verse]

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## BRIEFS

**REJECTION OF NEW PARTY**--The Political Parties Committee headed by Sayyid Zaki has objected to an application filed by lawyer Ahmad Kamil Qutub to form a party under the name of the Global Progressive Party. Qutub filed the application as a representative of the founders of the proposed party. Among the reasons for its rejection, the committee cited the argument that the party is based on fantasy and that it does not offer practical solutions for the problems of the Egyptian society. The committee said that the theory of "globalism" which underlines the party's belief in a new international economy, a new international defensive force and the abolition of borders among states is an illusory theory. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 19 May 80 p 1] 9234

**FAILURE OF ANTI-ILLITERACY CAMPAIGN**--Dr Subhi 'Abd al-Hakim, secretary of youth in the National Democratic Party, has stated that the party leadership has been talking for a year now about a plan to launch a national campaign to eradicate illiteracy, but that the party has done nothing thus far, although the year 1980 was dubbed as the year of wiping out illiteracy. Speaking at a meeting of the National Anti-Illiteracy Committee, the secretary of youth in the National Democratic Party said that the plans of the ministry of education to absorb those who are in the age of compulsory education have failed, and that the Higher Council for Adult Education has done nothing thus far. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 26 May 80 p 1] 9234

**SALE OF COMPANY SUSPENDED**--The minister of industry, Taha Zaki, has suspended contract procedures involving the sale of "Ideal" company to the (Thompson) company of France. The Central Accounting Bureau and the General Union of Engineering Industries had earlier recommended in a report that the sale be stopped. The matter was then referred to the industry committee in the People's Assembly. The minister of industry, meanwhile, has set up a committee to review the sale agreement, examine the advantage and feasibility of the sale, and discuss the objections. He gave the committee one month to complete its work and report to him. The minister will make his final decision on the French company's plan in the light of that report. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 1] 9234

OPEN DOOR POLICY CRITICIZED--Engineer 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman has criticized the economic open door policy. Speaking at a meeting of the development committee of the National Democratic Party, he said that the open door policy was not intended to exploit the Egyptian people. He demanded that the role of foreign and Arab investors be confined to productive projects and that consumer projects be left exclusively to local investors. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 9 Jun 80 p 1] 9254

CSO: 4802

## NEW CIA APPROACH TO CONTROL ISLAMIC WORLD OUTLINED

Cairo AL-DA'WAN in Arabic Jul 80 pp 24, 25

[Article by Sami Sayyid: "The New Role of American Intelligence in the Islamic World; Is the United States Playing a Machiavellian Game to Undermine the Islamic Movement?"]

[Text] When the CIA was awakened by the collapse of the most classical dictatorial regime in the world--the shah's regime--it hurried back to its listening devices, satellites, monitoring stations and computers to find out what went wrong and why all those formidable machines had failed to predict the shock of the Iranian revolution. The CIA could get no answers from those machines. "On the contrary, the machines affirmed that Iran was an oasis of stability in the Middle East and a safe place for CIA operations in the Islamic world. Where was the error then? The error lies in the fact that the life of a Moslem is shaped and galvanized by certain basic dimensions and concepts and that those dimensions and concepts cannot be detected by a satellite, fed into a computer or picked up by listening devices.

There are two basic dimensions which shape the life of a Moslem and which are not understood by those who are controlled by materialism and are abysmally caught in its orbit. The first dimension is the concept of martyrdom, which is clearly evident in a hadith of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) that stands as a supreme example of revolutionism and prescience: "And you shall be ruled by princes who, if you obeyed them, will mislead you, and if you disobeyed them will kill you. They said: And what should we do, O Prophet of God? He said: Be like the followers of Jesus. They were saved down and carried on wood. By God, he who holds the soul of Muhammad in his hand would do better to die in the obedience of God than to lead a life of sin."

The second dimension is not too different from the first. It is the concept which places a low premium on life--the concept that life is cheap, that it is only a commodity which God has bought from the faithful. ("God has bought from the faithful their selves and properties 'in return for paradise.")

The CIA has failed to comprehend those dimensions because it has failed to make a distinction between its two main enemies: the Soviets and the Moslems. While the CIA can gain knowledge and information about the Russians through the use of spy machines, satellites and listening devices, all such equipment and devices are useless when it comes to finding out anything about the Moslems. In the face of this perplexing enemy--the Moslems--the CIA had to look for a new role or approach which would enable it to deal with this enemy, fathom him up and find out how best to strike at him so that the tragedy of Iran does not repeat itself in another part of the Islamic world.

The CIA's search for a new role in the Islamic world is confirmed by the bill which President Carter recently submitted to the Congress. The bill is designed to amend the 1974 law pertaining to the central intelligence machinery, whereby the CIA will be given a free hand in foreign operations, without prior legislative oversight, and whereby the number of persons eligible to have access to secret files about intelligence operations and activities abroad would be reduced as much as possible. This is despite the fact that President Carter himself had focused his 1976 campaign on the illegality of CIA activities and the need to place the CIA under political control and oversight, that is to say that special Congressional committees should have prior notification about all operations planned by that suspicious American apparatus. The CIA's search for a new role against the Islamic world is also confirmed by the controversy now going on in Washington about the CIA's return to its old devious and mysterious operations.

#### Enlightened Approach and Outlook

Given the need to have an enlightened and informed outlook toward the future, we believe that the new role which will be played by the CIA will be a three-dimensional one: educational, diplomatic and informational.

With respect to the first dimension, the educational dimension, it can be basically summed up in the fact that the CIA finds it necessary to study Islamic Societies [or Brotherhoods] and other Islamic groups and organizations from within. It has to do so after it has been established that electronic devices, no matter how sophisticated, cannot probe or fathom these societies and other groups. It is, therefore, necessary to get closer to these groups, and even come into contact with them if possible. This goal can be attained by the following means:

a) The commission of local and governmental research centers and public opinion pollsters in the various Islamic countries to conduct research and studies about the Jama'at and others. The ostensible aim of such studies would be to collect scientific and scholarly facts and information, but the hidden aim is to furnish thorough and complete information and data about those groups.

b) The commission of American universities in Islamic countries to conduct studies and research about the Islamic groups, the Moslems in general, especially since most of the students of those universities are local Moslem

students. (I have heard that the junior class at the college of economics and political science at the American University of Cairo has been assigned to do a study on the Moslem Brotherhood). The most serious aspect of this educational dimension--about which Moslems should be very careful--is the possibility that a number of foreigners would convert to Islam in order to infiltrate the Jama'at, without having embraced Islam out of real belief.

c) Intensification of research work and studies conducted by foreigners, Americans especially, about the Islamic Societies. AL-'ARABI magazine [of Kuwait] has reported that CIA agent Richard Mitchell has prepared a comprehensive survey of all the Islamic movements and societies which no Moslem has ever done before. In addition to that, TIME magazine has published a detailed survey of all the Islamic movements, including clandestine movements, in a special cover story on Islam.

#### The Machiavellian Game

An observer of the situation recognizes that the CIA is thinking of returning to the Machiavellian game through an Islamic route. The game is based on the formula which the CIA has adopted in its dealings with the ruling regimes of the Islamic world, and which the CIA has become even more convinced of after the Iranian setback. Put simply, the formula can be summed up as follows: Sacrifice a friend to preempt a future and prospective enemy. The new thing about the Machiavellian game this time is that the CIA intends to play it in an Islamic fashion. Fleshed out, the rules of the game are that the United States, in its dealings with the ruling regimes in the Islamic world, is chiefly interested in the continuation of the regime which carries out its policies regardless of the person who heads that regime.

In the Iranian experience, the CIA failed to comprehend that the Moslem masses there could not accept any alternative short of the overthrow of the shah. When the CIA got the message, it was already too late. To make sure that the tragedy would not repeat itself, and that pro-American leaderships in the Islamic world are not overthrown--that is, that regimes that carry out the policies of the United States are not toppled--the United States has begun to make the necessary preparations to get rid of any ruler--no matter how friendly--who has reached the point of no return with his people. By so doing, the CIA would be preempting events and changing persons without changing the regimes, of course. This way it would be acting ahead of forces that would remove both the person and the regime, to the detriment of the United States. Here we get a clear understanding of the notion of sacrificing a friend to preempt a prospective enemy.

The CIA had applied this theory on several occasions through a series of military coups in the region. The new element in the game in the 1980's is that the CIA will use an Islamic front this time. The United States is fully aware that the overriding wave and sweeping current in the Islamic world are the Islamic wave and current, and that the United States must bend with the current, even if only in appearance. Accordingly, there is great likelihood that the United States will bring to power Islamic regimes in the Islamic



world which would act as a front to enable the United States to defuse the Islamic zeal, which is now firing the masses that thirst for Islamic rule, and contain the masses, while providing them with nothing but slogans and imaginary institutions. To add a finishing touch to this game, it is possible that the CIA will recommend the establishment of nominal Islamic Societies in order to use them in exploiting the Islamic revival that is sweeping the Islamic world. The CIA would not hesitate to lavish funds on such groups. At the same time, the United States would attempt to smear the real societies which truly express the will of the masses of the Islamic nation, so as to distort and ruin the image of these societies among Moslems. Attempts in that regard would reach the point of even accusing members of these societies of dealing with the CIA itself. The CIA has no compunction about incriminating itself if that would contribute to bringing about its desired goals.

The final dimension is the informational one. The CIA believes in the idea of keeping up a constant "buzzing" in the ears. Therefore, Carter has recently agreed to a plan to expand and increase broadcasts beamed to the Islamic world in Farsi and 7 other languages which comprise most of the languages spoken in the Moslem world. In addition to that, the American government is seeking to buy air time from the radio stations of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the Gulf states, to enable it to beam broadcasts to the more than 50 million Moslems in the Soviet Union. At the same time, the American government has agreed to spend \$2 million to boost and improve the programs of Radio Liberty that are beamed to Soviet Moslems. You will realize the significance of expanding American broadcasts to the Islamic world when you know that such a step is the result of efforts by Paul Henze, a National Security Council adviser and former CIA chief of station in Turkey.

Of course, American propaganda has primed itself to disseminate lies and fallacies via such broadcasts. This is confirmed by Phillip Agee, the agent who turned against the CIA and who is considered by the agency to be its No 1 enemy. He had said that the CIA had an agreement with news agencies to put out certain news stories concocted by the CIA in order to create a certain impression or impact in the world or to avoid an unfavorable impact or development.

And yet, no matter how hard they play their game and how much planning and intrigue they engage in, the dimension of faith which welds us together and the Islamic mold which has shaped us are sure to thwart their games and machinations. Our Islamic personality will continue to tower and ride high, no matter how hard they try to melt it down.

O, honorable Prophet. How we wish you were with us now to witness the re-awakening of your nation--an awakening that will shake the oppressor, humiliate the infidel, bring forth the springs of faith on earth and plant the spikes of creation. We are waiting.

## CALL FOR REVOCATION, NOT SUSPENSION, OF NORMALIZATION

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Jul 80 pp 4-7

[Editorial by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "Suspending the Negotiations Is Not Enough, They Should Be Cancelled; There Is Only One Jerusalem in the Whole World"]

[Text] We are committed to the elimination of all the visible and hidden manifestations of normalization. Suspension is not enough. Cancellation is a must.

We are among those who believe that Israel does not want peace, not even a separate peace, unless this would bring it closer to the realization of its aspirations and designs. We ask God that those aspirations not be fulfilled, because they are not content with the goal of establishing greater Israel from al-Madinah al-Munawwarah in the south to the end of Lebanon in the north, and from the end of Iraq in the east to the end of Morocco in the west, but extend to the subjugation of Asia and Africa, if not the whole world. This is Israel and those are the Israelis, sons of the old and pre-old testament and the new and yet-to-come testament. This is their nature and those are their designs. But God is watching them and He is powerful enough to deal with them.

In accordance with this concept, we have opposed any agreement with those people who do not feel answerable to God Almighty and who have come to worship the dirham and the dinar rather than God.

Strangely enough, all the foreign correspondents, when they talk to us, do not ask us about our opposition to signing a treaty with Israel, but couch their questions in a mischievous manner which implies a clear accusation. Thus they ask: Why do you reject peace with Israel--as if Moslems hate peace. No Moslem hates peace. Indeed, this is quite contrary to his character and religion. God Almighty has ordered Moslems to rid themselves completely of the sentiment of hatred. A Moslem, therefore, does not hate a person but may hate that person's actions and behavior. As for the Moslem's attitude toward the usurpation of rights, if those rights were personal rights, he would handle the matter in a personal manner. But if the usurped rights relate to his creed and religion, he will then have to endeavor to regain those rights whatever the cost may be--even if that should cost him his life.

## One Jerusalem

With this in mind, we have rejected and still reject the treaty with Israel, as long as it maintains its arrogance and claims and continues to hold the entire land of Palestine, including Jerusalem--or what they call east and West Jerusalem, when there is in the whole world only one complete Jerusalem with borders that have been known and determined since thousands of years. In our rejection, we are not coming up with a new notion which cannot be corroborated. Our rejection is corroborated by Israel itself, the United States and the Egyptian negotiator whose many and recurrent statements have been hounding Israel for its violation of even what it had committed itself to do and what it had signed.

Israel has been preventing the mayors of Palestinian cities and towns even from just protesting and submitting their protests to the quarters which would have to look into them--although we would not want for the people of Palestine to content themselves with mere protest, but urge them to mount a sweeping revolution even if that led to the death of all Palestinians. Protest will be of no use to them, exactly as staggering and writhing are of no use to a bird after he had just been slaughtered. This is our view.

Even when Sol Linowitz, President Carter's envoy to the Middle East and himself a Jew, presented suggestions on the settlements in the occupied territories, Israel defiantly and arrogantly rejected them, as if it gave no importance to President Carter's envoy. In fact, Menachem Begin emphasized that his government will not stop the building of settlements in the occupied Arab territories and that Israel believes in the right of Jews to settle anywhere in those territories, including Hebron (AL-AHRAM, Friday, 28 March, 1980). In this fantastic fashion, Israel's temerity has reached the point where it does not pursue the building of settlements in silence and does not desist from claiming what does not belong to it and where it officially and loudly declares that it will not stop building settlements. Furthermore, it does not stop at falsifying history by stating that it has a right to settle any part of the occupied territories, including Hebron, or rejecting the proposals of its protector and feeder, the United States, but goes on building settlements with total disregard for the feelings of Moslems throughout the world. It is not Israel's fault but that of the rulers of Moslem in all parts of the world who have given and still are giving Israel the opportunity to disdain and belittle all Moslems because of their disunity and dispersion.

## Menachem Defies Carter

Even that has not satisfied Begin's conceit--or it could be that Begin's conceit cannot be satisfied for some other reason which I cannot prove. Have not you heard that Menachem Begin has informed the president of the United States that, at the forthcoming Washington talks, he will reject the United States' request that Israel freeze Jewish settlement in the West Bank. Yes, by God, this defiance of Carter by Menachem has actually happened. More than that, Menachem has informed Carter that the West Bank constitutes a part of the land of Israel. Swaggeringly, Begin says: Heaven will not fall on

earth if the autonomy talks were not completed by 26 May 1980. Indeed, denial of even recorded facts has reached the point where Begin even said that there does not exist a written document which refers to that date as a deadline....!!! What is the man saying and whom is he fooling and belittling? And who is lying? Unchecked, he went on boasting that no one can impose on Israel a Palestinian state, because such a state, he said, is a threat to our very existence, and there can never be peace under such circumstances. He even pointed out that the United Nations resolution (presumably 242) would destroy the foundations of the Camp David accords and the peace treaty. I swear that I was in doubt of the veracity of what I heard along these lines, but this is exactly what was published in AL-AKHBAR of 28 March 1980 and no one has denied it thus far. What is even more shocking is that while Menachem Begin was uttering those fantastic words of defiance in the face of the United States and Egypt, he sent his minister of energy to Washington to discuss with Carter's aides, and perhaps even with Carter himself who was the target of Begin's defiance and rejection, Israel's oil needs. That's right--to discuss with the United States Israel's oil needs. Would you suppose that the Israeli minister of energy will return empty handed or with millions of barrels of oil which he would order the United States to deliver? Can you deduce from all such games and antics a definite attitude between America and Israel? As for us, we were able to detect the facts years ago, and may God have mercy on us and on all those who are pained and distressed by the loss of truth and the denial of justice.

#### What Peace Should We Hope For?

To further confirm what we have been saying, Musa Sabri, the chief editor of AL-AKHBAR, has recently written that the government of Israel has come up with a new logic which contradicts all the principles prescribed by the Camp David accords, namely, that Israel's security is a matter for Israel alone to determine and to specify its requirements and safeguards. (AL-AKHBAR, 9 May 1980). What is then left for us and what are we waiting for? And what kind of peace can we hope to achieve with those people? To die to the last man is a thousand times more honorable for us than accepting this kind of disdain, scorn and belittlement.

Israel goes on scorning all values and honorable things in life by preventing Palestinian leaders from returning to their country. On 12 May, 1980, AL-AKHBAR reported that the Israeli police has forced shopkeepers in east Jerusalem to open their stores in a bid to break the strike called by the Palestinian National Guidance Committee in the West Bank.

Do you want more evidence that categorically proves that Israel in no way wants peace? Well, here is something which we have not said but was said by the American NEW YORK TIMES. In an article cited by AL-AKHBAR on 14 May 1980, the NEW YORK TIMES accused Israel of following a policy which aims at controlling the West Bank forever. This was written while the Israeli military authorities continued their suppressive measures against the Arab inhabitants in the various cities and towns of the West Bank for the 10th consecutive day since the outbreak of the recent events. Here, brother, is a



testimony given by one of Israel's own kind. AL-AHRAM also reported on 16 May, 1980, that there is a secret Israeli plan to settle 45,000 Jews in the West Bank within 3 years. The rest is yet to come, and what is hidden is still even worse.

Never mind, let's review evidence derived from the conduct of the United States, the third partner--evidence which decidedly demonstrates that Israel does not act haphazardly but out of confidence that the United States would not do anything that would anger Israel, even if Israel was wrong and guilty, because Israel deserves such pampering!

On Thursday, 8 May 1980, AL-AHRAM carried the following great tidings. It quoted the United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as saying that the Israeli authorities' expulsion of two West Bank mayors and the Islamic judge of Hebron is contrary to international law. How wonderful of Kurt to take such firm positions to check Israel and put it in its place! Was Israel ignorant of the fact that its actions are contrary to international law, so that Kurt sought to draw its attention to this unbecoming violation? Or did he actually want to reassure Israel that it can go on its way confidently because this is the maximum that the United Nations and its secretary general can do? Thanks a lot, you did what you had to do and you saved the reputation of the United Nations!

#### Carter's Mediation

President Jimmy Carter of the United States graciously announced, according to reports carried on 12 May 1980, that the autonomy talks are facing a severe crisis with regard to final agreement on full autonomy and the implementation of the Camp David accords. Amazing! Was anyone unaware of that, Mr Carter? Or are you one of those who like to say the obvious? He went on to say that despite the many difficulties which encountered the talks during the past 3 years, the United States has succeeded in its role as a mediator between Egypt and Israel. Well, we will grant him that, for he was able to make the good country, Egypt, carry out all that it has committed itself to do. As for unruly Israel, he was able to achieve and do nothing--not as a mediator, a partner, an ally or the one who feeds Israel. To be half blind is still better than being completely blind! He goes on to say that America does not want to play the role of the dictator who imposes his will on the parties concerned, as long as the negotiations are proceeding faithfully and in accordance with the political principles prescribed in the Camp David accords. Can we ask, Mr President of the United States, if you believe that Israel's actions and behavior represent a faithful continuation of the negotiations, in accordance with the principles you have agreed upon at Camp David? If you consider this to be a faithful application of those principles by Israel, what would the unfaithful application of those principles be like? And if human fairness and complete neutrality make it incumbent upon you to shun the role of the dictator who wants to impose his will on others, what do you call your overlooking of Begin's actions, after you have completely denied those actions? What kind of neutrality is it when you immediately accede to all of Israel's requests and supply it with the most modern weapons, some



of which have not even been used by your own armed forces, while you act with great deliberation and slowness when Egypt asks you for arms? Please excuse me, reader, for it is not my business to ask such embarrassing questions, but what can I do when what I see is ado about nothing! Patience, God.

The fair saint [Carter] goes on to reaffirm his commitment to be a partner in the talks despite the difficulties, procrastination, setbacks and the ever present prospect of the failure of the talks. Would you be clear, Carter? Who is it that is posing obstacles, causing difficulties and procrastinating? Egypt or Israel? Why cannot things be said openly and clearly and a spade called a spade, instead of this kind of generalization which conceals a deliberate intention not to face facts candidly? But you are free, of course, to do anything you want.

Carter goes on--oh, how he always goes on--to say that he does not see any cause for despair or for abandoning the endeavor to complete the negotiations. You are right! Why should you despair when Israel is going full steam ahead in doing anything it wants and in violating everything that it has agreed to? What would Israel want to do more than it is doing under the auspices of the negotiations and the treaty? No, no, do not despair, because you might cause Israel to miss the opportunity of doing anything that it wants to do. I just want to remind you of your promise in that statement--that you will not abandon the target date of 26 May 1980. You are a free man, and a free man always keeps his promise. Should we wait, for we understand from what you say that the outstanding problems cannot be solved before 26 May 1980? Which one of your two statements should be believed: that the talks would be completed before 26 May or that they cannot be completed before then? Enough insults against our intelligence!

#### A Charge That Scares Carter

But what can you do when you are in the heat of the presidential elections? Your opponent Kennedy is accusing your administration of betraying Israel--a charge that scares you more than anything else. At the same time, your new secretary of state has embarrassed you by saying that the negotiating parties have reached for the first time the phase of direct confrontation with the substantive issues that represent the crux of the conflict. Calamity! If they have just only today reached the substantive crux of the conflict, what were they doing all those years? And what were the parties and fanfares all about, champion of human rights? Although your minister has embarrassed you, he still is your brilliant disciple in politics, for he is using your own style. He said, for instance, that the United States will intensify its efforts as a full partner in the autonomy talks and that it will undertake a greater role in the next phase! If so, what was America's role thus far? Was America an incomplete partner? Or were its efforts diluted and not intensified?

At any rate, however, we say to your credit that your state department plucked up its courage, risked all and announced that it does not recognize Israel's annexation of east Jerusalem! What courage and daring! But this is, of course, the maximum you can do when it comes to Israel. The Moslems in all parts of the world must understand you completely so that they would not dance to the music of your justice and not be duped by your promises. If today they cannot reciprocate in kind, they should remember at all times that your promises are an act of depravation and falsehood and a narcotic designed to drug and lull anyone who is deceived by and unknowledgeable about you. Our hope is great that God will not allow the Moslems to continue as they are, because they are at fault if they continue to accept such humiliation upon themselves. It is either do or die.

We come now to Egypt and the Egyptian negotiator and what he can do and how he can move. I am not asking that all the cards be shown, but I demand that there should be winning cards which the Egyptians can use to advantage. We do not want to hear mere statements, but we want action--we want deeds not words. We have said more than once that we appreciate the circumstances through which we are going, as any Egyptian--a ruler or a subject--does. But despite all those circumstances and their harsh impact, we believe that a movement launched by officials, al-Azhar ulema and members of the Islamic groups can prove to the world what Egypt is--and Israel and its supporters will witness what the consequences will be. The aggressor shall pay for his aggression. But to be content with the position we are now taking is something that we cannot possibly endorse, whatever the excuse may be. Free and proud men were born only to be the fuel of noble sacrifices.

#### Lenience in Negotiating Position

What have we done in the face of Israel's defiance and America's laxness? Are we engaged again in a state of leniency and laxness in our negotiating stance?

We have heard the official spokesman for the foreign ministry say that the decision concerning (the two schools) is a new violation of the spirit of Camp David. And what's new in that? The whole world knows it. Do we face Israel's daily defiance and violation of international norms and values with old and repeated statements? And is it enough for our former defense minister to say that the policy of building settlements is a serious threat to security? Is this the duty of a soldier? Is it enough for our former defense minister to say that Israel's open and unabashed aggression against our rights is a serious threat to security? Or is it his duty to do what his enemy does and to confront his enemy with action that would check and stop him.

And is it any solace to Egyptians that Egypt has answered Israel's actions of deporting West Bank mayors, destroying the homes of Palestinians and building settlements with a letter of protest decrying those illegal actions which are in conflict with the Geneva convention pertaining to occupied territories

and the charter of the United Nations and all international norms? Were Israel and the world unaware of the illegality of Israel's actions? This is a position that does not befit us as a Moslem nation which believes that paradise lies in the shadow of the sword. And yet, do you know, esteemed reader, what was Israel's reply to all those vociferous protests? The Israeli ambassador delivered his government's reply to Egypt's protests at a meeting with the minister of state for foreign affairs that lasted for no more than three minutes! As if the reply was a war ultimatum. Some newspapers have also reported that the letter of Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir included weak and unconvincing replies about Israel's violation of basic human rights and the simplest rules of international conduct, norms and conventions. How can the government of Egypt accept this slight calmly? Anyway, Egypt stated again that Israel's decision on Jerusalem was in contravention of the Camp David accords and that Egypt calls on the United States to take a more effective position! Well, if America failed to take a tougher position, what are we going to do about it? Would we just satisfy ourselves with raising our voice in protest? We do not approve at all this stance by the Egyptian negotiators and think that it does not befit them.

One hope is left for us to talk about, namely, the president's statement cited by AL-AHRAM on 17 May 1980, that Egypt is re-evaluating its position toward negotiations after the Knesset's decision proclaiming Jerusalem the unified capital of Israel. The [Israeli] doves have now shown their talons, bared their bills and fluttered their wings. And the supporters of peace in Israel have not expressed any regret about this serious action. We are urgently and anxiously waiting to see what Egypt's reassessment of its position will come to. We hope that it will result in a practical and firm stance that will put an end to all the things that Israel has dared to do without regard for anyone.

We can withdraw our ambassador, because if he were to say there after Israel declared all of Jerusalem as its capital, this may be construed as a clear, not an implicit, recognition of Israel's right to do what it did. We will not die of fear if we asked the Israeli ambassador to go back to this country, for no one will ever regret the loss of his unwelcome presence among Egyptians. We are also obligated to put an end to all the open and hidden manifestations of normalization. There is a lot that we can do, provided that we sort out our own affairs among ourselves by holding country-wide meetings among representatives of the government and the people, where decisions would be taken and would be gladly accepted by the people. This is a matter that concerns the people and not just the government alone. So prepare the people, officials of the government, and ready them to wage the field of jihad. The overwhelming majority of the people is yearning to a paradise that straddles the full extent of the heavens and earth. Here is an opportunity for the people and the government to become integrated together, body and soul, when the people hear the government issuing forth the call to jihad. "God shall support he who upholds Him, for God is powerful and noble." God will not abandon us when He sees that we are sincerely determined to work for the sake of His saying "Or have you assumed that you will enter paradise when God still know not who among you have embarked on jihad and who are the patient." On the Day of Reckoning "Those whose faces shine with honor will live eternally in the mercy of God."

## GOVERNMENT'S BIRTH CONTROL CAMPAIGN ATTACKED

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Jul 80 pp 50, 51

[Article by Rabi' Rad: "Look Around You--Another Moslem Baby!"]

[Text] "Look around you: A new baby is born every 24 seconds!" This strange, but most cleverly designed, public announcement has appeared on television screens and on the pages of magazines and newspapers. Another announcement along this line opened with two quotations from the hadith of the Prophet (God bless him). The first quotation was falsely attributed to him, while the second was said in a different context and for a different reason.

The first quotation goes like this: "The Prophet, God bless him, used to implore God for protection from 'juhd al-bala'." When the Companions asked him one day what he meant by 'juhd al-bala', the Prophet said: 'it means too many children while there is a dearth of things.' "The second quotation runs as follows: "It is better for you to produce offsprings who are rich rather than offsprings who would be a burden, living off others." The two quotations are then followed by a list of names and addresses of birth control centers and by the greetings of the information and education unit in the General Information Authority.

It is clear that the people in charge of these public campaigns are directing their efforts at Moslems, in view of the quotations from the hadith, and because the Egyptian Coptic Church and the Roman Catholic Church in the Vatican prohibit birth control or family planning.

The quotation is not from the hadith and does not mean that one should limit his family to ward off adversity. What it actually means is that one should ward off adversity by hard work and the raising of a good and able Moslem generation in fulfillment of God's call: "Marry and procreate and you shall proliferate, and I shall then proudly hold you aloft among nations on the Day of Reckoning."



The second quotation from the hadith cited by the Information Authority is self-evident, for it is natural that a Moslem will do well to make his offsprings and heirs rich and affluent rather than poor and destitute. This proves that the idea behind that quotation from the hadith is to encourage work and struggle so that one's heirs are not left poor. This stands to reason and is not intended to admonish Moslems to restrict birth.

It is clear by now that those in charge of this campaign are either parrots unwittingly repeating what is dictated to them from outside the lands of Islam through foreign organizations, or agents seeking to weaken Islam and Moslems.

Otherwise, why is this campaign targeted against the Moslems alone? And why is the hadith being used mischievously and perversely to promote ideas that are quite removed from its true purpose?

The public announcement says: "Look around you, a new baby is born every 24 seconds." I say in reply: "Look around you, where is the plumber? Look around you, where is the mechanic? Look around you, where is the able engineer? Look around you, where is the teacher of Arabic and other languages and mathematics? Look around you in the countryside, where is the agricultural worker? Look around you, where are the skilled construction laborers?"

#### That Rabid Campaign

How can such a rabid organized campaign be launched when the country is suffering from a severe shortage in trained labor, to the extent that Korean construction companies, for example, had to build al-Salam hotel in Heliopolis and construct a huge building in Garden City. Egypt has never before suffered a shortage of trained labor as it is experiencing now. Herein then lies an extremely peculiar equation. The first part of the equation says that the population is increasing at a great speed. The second part says that there is a severe shortage in labor to the extent that there is a shortage of several thousands of Arabic language teachers, for example, and that the wage of an agricultural worker in the countryside has reached two pounds a day for a few hours' work.

The problem facing the country is not actually one of population growth. The human factor of the population is one of the elements of strength in nations and one of the sources of wealth in a state. Ultimately, however, the question is that of the efficient use or the misuse of available resources including--in fact, primarily--the human resource. Japan, for example, has a population of a hundred million people living in a group of islands that are poor in raw materials. And yet Japan managed to become a major power not by controlling its population of 100 million people but by training them well and building up their skills and abilities.

And the United States, with a population of more than 200 million people, yearly opens its doors to thousands of immigrants and is considered to be the richest and most powerful nation on earth. Most American states prohibit



abortion, except for medical or health reasons, and encourage population growth, because population growth is not the problem. Rather the problem is how to educate and train the people and increase their skills.

The Jewish state of Israel was established through the usurpation of a small portion of Palestine. Compared to the size of Egypt, Israel is still a small state, and yet it is seeking by all means to bring in more immigrants and is trying to develop the Negev desert.

#### Poverty Is the Fruit of Communism

Israel is also a case of how the human factor is put to good use. On the other end of the spectrum is a state such as the Communist state of Aden and Cuba. Nearly half of the population of Aden has emigrated, and yet the remaining population is living in abject poverty--so much so that at one time citizens of that country were searching for food in garbage cans. Cuba, meanwhile, has turned its population into a mercenary army working for the Soviets in return for food.

If we take sisterly Sudan, we find it a country of vast areas of good farming land and ample water resources. And yet these areas are not being planted and farmed. Why? Because of the lack of the efficient use of the available human resources. Jordan is a country with a very small population and it survives on Arab and foreign aid.

Therefore, we say that the real problem is not that of the growth of population or the lack of a large population. It is rather the efficient use of available resources, including the most important resource--the human being. In Egypt, even if the population dwindled to a million people, we will still have poverty and problems. The transportation crisis began when Egypt's population was 20 million people. The crisis began immediately after the nationalization measures and had nothing to do with the increase or decrease of the population. The housing crisis began with the beginning of the socialist era and did not emerge when the population reached 40 million people.

The meat crisis is not due to the increase in the numbers of mouths that need to eat meat, but to the misapplication of agrarian reform laws and the leasing of agricultural lands. The leasing resulted in the fragmentation of land which in turn made it impossible for land owners or tenants to raise cattle and livestock because there were not large enough areas of land for cattle to graze.

#### The Problem Not That of Population Growth

The problem in Egypt then is not that of population growth. The real problem lies in the fact that the centralized form of the state absolutely does not help to activate or advance economic life. We have simply taken the outer crust of decentralization, not its substance. The presidential prerogatives which were given to the governors are of no value except in the case of appointing or transferring employees. As long as financial appropriations

come from the central government in Cairo, we will remain in this state of backwardness. But if each governorate had its independent source of revenue, in the sense that a governorate will send to the central government nothing but the taxes that are necessary for defense and foreign policy affairs, while retaining the rest of the revenue it raises from taxes and fees, and if the governor, the mayors and the legislative council of a governorate are elected, say for a period of 5 years, and finally if a governorate is completely independent with regard to appointing, firing, promoting and determining the salaries and allowances of its employees--then such a system will produce real wealth in Egypt. Roads would be built, regional and community colleges and institutes would be established and regional and community newspapers and information media would emerge. The result would be unprecedented revival and progress.

It is regrettable that years after Port Sa'id was declared a free zone, the city is still without an international airport and without an elevated bridge linking it to the other bank of the Suez Canal, so that the city can geographically expand. Nothing of the sort can be done at all because the revenues from the free zone go in full to the central government in Cairo. But if the city were placed under a free popular supervision, Port Sa'id would today be no less thriving than Hong Kong or Singapore.

I wish to add too that family planning has not advanced the cause of progress in the country. The unsuccessful educational system each year turns out thousands of graduates who cannot find anything profitable to do except wait to be appointed in some working capacity. And when they are employed, those graduates do nothing but sign in and sign out every day, without really producing, because they are incapable of doing anything useful in the first place in view of the fact that the present educational system does not bring forth the creative talents of the individual or bring up an individual with an independent mind, strong will and stiff determination who can plow ahead and chart his own course in life. The educational system in fact produces nothing but misfits. And so we in Egypt are suffering from the misuse of the resources available to us, including the human resources, because of the centralized system of government and the failure of the present educational system.

I would like to remind the gentlemen who have become professional family planners that the early Moslems, the soldiers of the Prophet, God bless him and grant him salvation, were few in number. But he brought them up capably and efficiently and they in turn became the builders of the most powerful states and kingdoms in their age and the proponents of a great Islamic nation and civilization. That great development ultimately was the result of the efficient use, upbringing and training of the human element, that is the Moslem individual.

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